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Medical Licensing and Learning in Fourteenth- Century Valencia

LUIS GARCÍA-BALLESTER,
MICHAEL R. McVAUGH, and
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CENTURY VALENCIA

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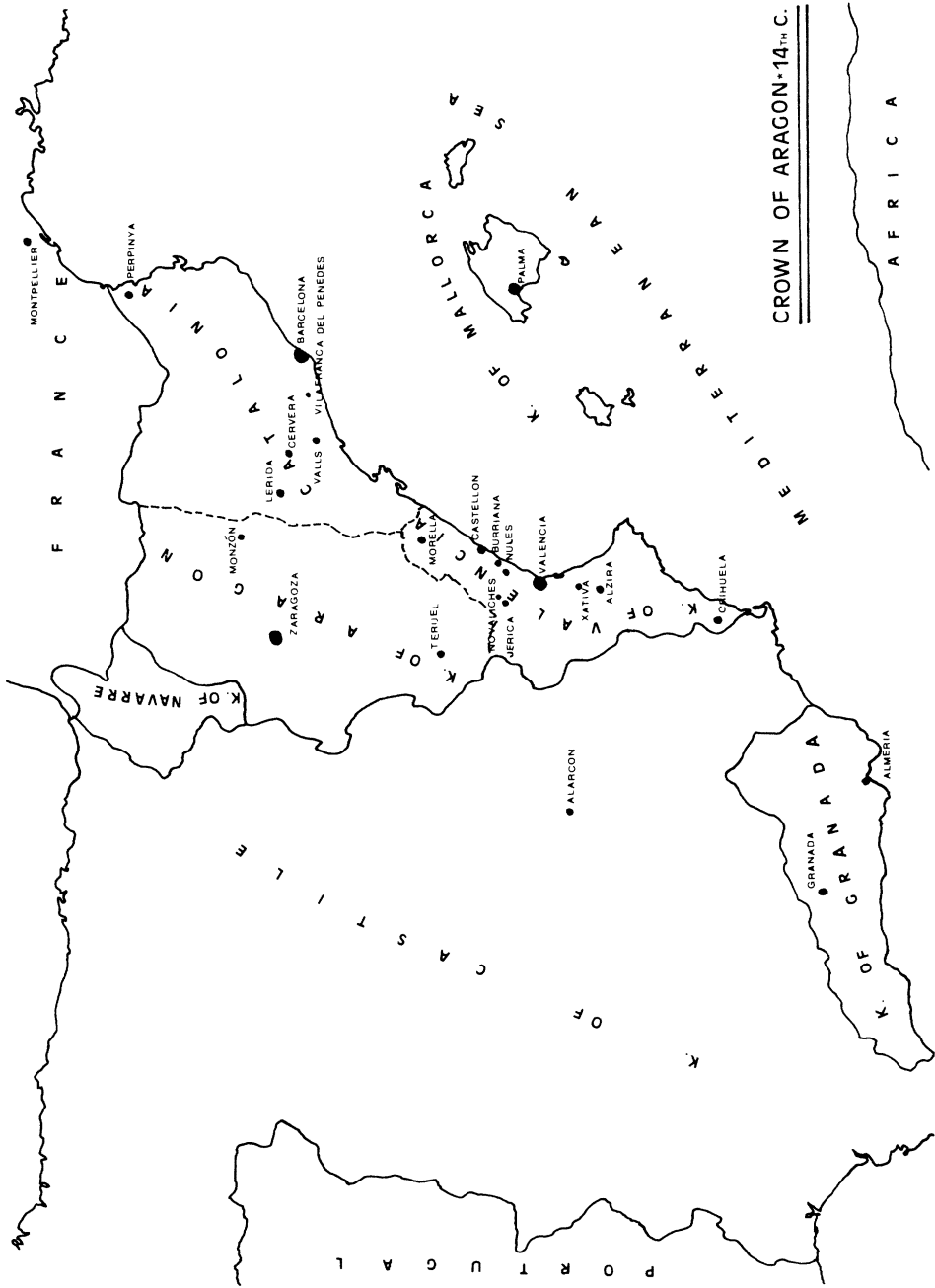
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FOREWORD

In writing about the medieval Crown of Aragon, where both Catalan and Castilian (as well as Latin) were spoken, it is not easy to avoid arbitrariness in the spelling of proper names and foreign terms. In general, we have tried to maintain the forms particular to the linguistic region in question—thus we refer to the *corts* of Cervera but the *cortes* of Monzón—but we have not managed to do so consistently: we use the form “Lérida” rather than “Lleida,” for example. We have been more consistent in employing regnal numbers, always using the Aragonese rather than the Catalan numbering (Pere IV rather than Pere III) as being perhaps more widely recognized.

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CROWN OF ARAGON-14TH C.

I. THE VALENCIAN *FURS* OF 1329

In the fourteenth century, the kings of Aragon in northeastern Spain governed three countries that were politically and (to a degree) linguistically distinct, and were linked only by the rule of their common monarch: the principality of Catalonia, the kingdom of Aragon, and the kingdom of Valencia—the last-named having been reconquered from Islam as recently as 1238. These realms—which we may conveniently call collectively the “Crown of Aragon,” to distinguish them from the kingdom of Aragon proper (see map)—have left abundant archival materials, enabling modern historians to study their societies in particularly close detail.¹ Among the subjects that have recently received scholarly attention, the regulation, availability, and delivery of health care in these lands are proving to be of unusual historical interest. This study will focus on the development of medical regulation in the kingdom of Valencia, but in the process it will also illuminate the same topic with regard to the wider society of the Crown of Aragon and, indeed, of late-medieval Europe.

The presence of an adequate number of medical practitioners (physicians and surgeons), trained in what fourteenth-century documents call “the principles of medical science” and possessed of “verified experience” in the art of healing,² was a prerequisite for setting in motion mechanisms for the control of the healing professions, for such mechanisms could be established only after society had begun to institutionalize the process of acquiring medical knowledge.³ It is not by chance that it was in the kingdom of Sicily that a specific level of training was first required of Western medical practitioners, for in that kingdom, at Salerno (near Naples), there had existed since the twelfth century a tradition of medical instruction based on a fixed corpus of medical writings. This corpus covered not only the basic theoretical aspects of medicine (anatomy, physiology, and pathology), but also the three broad divisions of medical practice or *operatio* (diet, therapeutics, and surgery), and its mastery could thus be assumed to have provided

¹ A good brief survey is T. N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Oxford, 1986).

² See, for example, documents 5 (“longa e aprovada experiència”) and 6 (“principis de la . . . sciència de física”) in the documentary appendix (Appendix 2), below.

³ For the relation between the institutionalized transmission of medical knowledge and the beginnings of social control of the medical profession, see Pearl Kibre, “The Faculty of Medicine at Paris, Charlatanism and Unlicensed Medical Practices in the Later Middle Ages,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 27 (1953), 1–20, especially p. 4.

a student with an adequate theoretical and practical background.⁴ Similarly, both at Paris and at Montpellier the right to practice (*venia praticandi*) was being tied to a body of medical knowledge guaranteed by the schools of medicine existing there, schools whose syllabi centered upon the Salernitan medical corpus. The new supervision of the medical profession should not be seen merely as a pragmatic response to a political problem; it is also a social manifestation of the positive value that learning was perceived to have, and of the privileged role that medicine was coming to occupy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries within the *firmamentum scientiarum*.⁵

Within the Crown of Aragon, the first legislation in which we see society concerning itself with the regulation of physicians and surgeons comes from the *fueros* enacted by the *cortes* of Monzón in 1289, in which Alfons III (1285–1291) extended to physicians and surgeons a summary provision originally framed to apply to professionals in law:

17. Likewise we ordain and decree that no lawyer (*savi en dret*) shall take part in *inquisicions* or *advocacions* or judgments in any court unless he has been examined by the councilors (*prohòmens*) of the town together with other lawyers; and those who are examined shall swear that they will act faithfully in *advocacions* and in the other cases heard by the *veguer* or by the bailiff and the said councilors of the town.

18. Likewise we ordain and decree that the same thing be done with physicians and surgeons.⁶

⁴ For the medical corpus used at Salerno and its European diffusion (excluding the Hispanic kingdoms), see Heinrich Schipperges, *Die Assimilation der arabischen Medizin durch das lateinische Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden, 1964). For the diffusion of Salernitan medicine in Castile, see Luis García Ballester, "El papel de las instituciones de consumo y difusión de ciencia médica en la Castilla del siglo XIII: El Monasterio, la catedral y la Universidad," *Dynamis* 4 (1984), 33–63; also idem, "La circulación de las ideas médicas en la Castilla de Alfonso X el Sabio," *Revista de Occidente* 43 (1984), 85–107. The diffusion of Salernitan medicine within the Crown of Aragon has not yet been studied, and is one of the themes we mean to pursue.

The consolidation of the Salernitan corpus or *articella* gave rise to commentaries that constituted the first medieval syllabus: see P. O. Kristeller, "Bartholomaeus, Musandinus and Maurus of Salerno and Other Early Commentators of the Articella, with a Tentative List of Texts and Manuscripts," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 19 (1976), 57–87, and the literature cited there.

⁵ "Quia in firmamento scientiarum inter liberales artes medicinalis scientia tanquam luminare maius noscitur prenitere, ad confovendum ipsam tanto propensius tenemur intendere, quanto per eandem salubrius humane fragilitati consulitur et egrotantibus optate sanitatis remedia conferuntur." A. Germain, *Cartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier*, I (Montpellier, 1890), p. 185; doc. 4 (15 June 1239). On the place of medicine in scholastic learning, see the chapter "The nature of medical learning" in Nancy G. Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti and His Pupils: Two Generations of Italian Medical Learning* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 118–146, and the literature cited there.

⁶ "Capitol XVII. Item ordonam e statuim que algun savi en dret no ús en alguna cort de inquisicions, ne de advocacions, ne de jutjaments entrò serà examinat per los prohòmens de cascum loch ensemps ab los altres savis en dret; e aquells qui seran elets, juren que se hauran feelment en advocacions e en les altres coses en poder del veguer o

With the king's approval, the *cortes* thus gave into the hands of the towns, and specifically of their councilors and physicians, the supervision of a nascent medical profession. In this way the Crown of Aragon was following a method of controlling medical practice that had been inaugurated by Roger II of Sicily in about 1140 and maintained in the Kingdom of Sicily by his successors, both the emperor Frederic II (d. 1250) and the later monarchs of the Angevin and Aragonese houses down to the fifteenth century.⁷ The same tradition was in effect in Paris by about 1220,⁸ and in Montpellier by 1239.⁹

As the text from the *cortes* of Monzón makes plain, it was not necessary to have studied medicine in a university in order to practice in the Crown of Aragon at the end of the thirteenth century. This does not mean that the Aragonese kings were unaware that other European societies saw this as desirable. Indeed, in 1272 Jaume I had tried to prevent the practice of medicine in Montpellier (of which he was seigneur) by men and women, whether Jews or Christians, who had not previously obtained a university degree and been certified by an examination.¹⁰ When at Jaume's death in 1276 Montpellier passed into the hands of the kings of Mallorca, they reiterated this need for training and examination as prerequisite to practice, using his very arguments: "non solum nomen et fama eiusdem Studii denigratur, sed et multa incumbunt mortis pericula et rerum dispendia inferuntur." Both Jaume II of Mallorca (in 1281)¹¹ and his son Sanç (in 1316)¹² insisted on this, and their policy was explicitly endorsed by Philip VI of France in 1331.¹³

In this sense, therefore, the provision of the *cortes* of Monzón of 1289 was more than a narrowly juridical pronouncement; it was a public acknowledgment of the growing influence of medical learning. The

del batle e dels dits prohòmens d'aquell loch.

"Idem capítol XVIII. Item ordonam e statuim que allò mateix se fasa en los metges e cirurgians." "Usatges y constitucions de Catalunya" (Archivo de la Corona de Aragón [= ACA], Generalitat, vol. 3, fol. 40); published by J. Rubió Balaguer, in A. de la Torre y del Cerro, *Documentos para la historia de la universidad de Barcelona, I: Preliminares (1289-1451)* (Barcelona, 1971), doc. 1, p. [3].

⁷ Cf. R. Calvanico, *Fonti per la storia della medicina e della chirurgia per il regno di Napoli nel periodo angioicino (a. 1273-1410)* (Naples, 1962), and Ronald Doviak, "The University of Naples and the Study and Practice of Medicine in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, C. U. N. Y., 1974).

⁸ H. Denifle, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, II, sectio prior (1286-1350) (Paris, 1891), p. 156, n. 1; Ernest Wickersheimer, *Commentaires de la Faculté de Médecine de l'université de Paris (1395-1516)* (Paris, 1915), p. lxxii.

⁹ A. Germain, *Cartulaire*, doc. 4, pp. 185-186.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, doc. 14, pp. 202-203.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, doc. 16, pp. 207-208 (13 April).

¹² *Ibid.*, doc. 33, pp. 234-235 (3 February).

¹³ *Ibid.*, doc. 55, pp. 284-285 (August). Since the purchase of Montpelieret by Philip IV of France (1293) and Jaume of Mallorca's acts of homage to the same king (1307/1310), the commune of Montpellier and the studium had looked increasingly to the French monarchy for confirmation of its privileges; see Jean Baumel, *Histoire d'une seigneurie du Midi de la France* (Montpellier, 1971), II, 172-180, 203-206.

view was emerging that medical science was responsible for health, man's most precious possession, and was hence an important factor in social equilibrium and stability. With this legislation, scientific medicine began its rise to an authoritative position in the Crown of Aragon; further legislation would eventually guarantee its availability (in theory) to the entire population, and not just to a few privileged individuals around the royal court—which before the twelfth century had controlled the Aragonese (and indeed European) medical profession. Public interest in the provision was shown by its relatively rapid reenactment on the local scene: by the towns of Cervera (May 1291)¹⁴ and Valls (August 1299), where it was applied explicitly to all the members, male or female, of the realm's three religious communities—Christian, Jewish, and Muslim; it was reiterated in the latter town in March 1319.¹⁵

A new and much more detailed basis for medical control was laid for the kingdom of Valencia with the promulgation of its *furs* by Alfons IV in the *corts* of 1329.¹⁶ At the heart of this novelty was a specified level of training for the practitioner, which established a relationship between the possession of a university degree in medicine and the right to practice medicine. After the Valencian *corts* of 1329, no one (at least in theory) in that kingdom would be able to practice medicine who had not attained the level of bachelor in a faculty of medicine. The active screening of physicians desiring to practice in Valencia was based on this presumption of knowledge conveyed in a university or *studium generale*. As we will see shortly, it consisted of an examination that reflected university practice, and that attempted to determine the adequacy of the physician's theoretical knowledge and clinical experience. Those responsible for selecting physicians and authorizing their practice were still the municipal authorities, but the technical aspects of the examination and its direction would now be wholly in the hands of the Valencian physicians.

The city where this new institution was to be put into effect was, both in size and in economic and political standing, one of the most important urban centers in late medieval Iberia and indeed in all Europe. Upon its conquest from the Muslims by Jaume I in 1238, Valencia became the capital of a kingdom—the kingdom of Valencia—to which the monarch granted its own law-code (*furs*; Castilian, *fueros*) and political institutions (*corts*, *cortes*), incorporating it along with Aragon

¹⁴ A. Duran i Sanpere, *Llibre de Cervera* (Tàrraga, 1972), p. 373.

¹⁵ F. Carreras y Candi, "Ordinacions urbanes de bon govern a Catalunya. Ordinacions de Vall (1299–1325)," *Bol. Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* [BRABLB] 25 (1925), 201, 203, 286, 291.

¹⁶ *Furs e Ordinacions fetes per los gloriosos Reys de Aragó als regnícals del Regne de València* (Valencia, 1482); *furs Del Rey N'Amfós I*, rubr. xvii, I. We have consulted the facsimile edition (Valencia, 1978), pp. [209]–[210]. A corrected text has been given as doc. 1 below in Appendix 2.

and Catalonia into the federated Crown of Aragon. The newly conquered territory was repopulated with Christian immigrants from the north, primarily Catalans and Aragonese, who established themselves in the most important towns. The Muslim inhabitants were largely driven from the cities (though some Moorish enclaves, *morerias*, persisted there) into the countryside, where they continued to make up the majority of the population. Valencia itself, which at the conquest sheltered some 15,000 persons, had a small *moreria* and a somewhat larger Jewish quarter (*jueria*). The Christian majority in the city continued to swell throughout the later middle ages, and by the fourteenth century Valencia had twice the population of a hundred years before; by 1500 it had more than 40,000 inhabitants.

Agriculture was the basis for Valencia's prosperity, centered as it was on a fertile alluvial plain cut by the river Turia. The land immediately surrounding the city, the *horta*, was watered by an irrigation system dating back to Roman times but perfected under Islam; it allowed the vigorous production of grain and wine for local consumption, but also of more specialized, profitable crops, especially rice, flax, and henna, for which there was a strong export demand; the latter two were also increasingly the mainstays of a local textile industry that grew up in the city during the fourteenth century. In these years Valencia was converted into an exporter of cloth and a renowned market for all kinds of manufactured products, foods, and exotic spices. Its port, el Grau, was frequented by merchants and ships from all over the Mediterranean and became one of the routine ports of call for international commerce. In turn, the foreign activity of Valencian entrepreneurs extended from Beirut to Lisbon, from Bruges to Oran, from Seville to Cagliari.

City government depended on two institutions, the *jurats* and the *consell*. The former was an executive college, renewed annually, made up of six persons: two were members of the urban nobility and the other four *ciutadans*, that is, wealthy burgesses. The *jurats* were supervised, at least theoretically, by a sort of municipal parliament, the *consell*, whose members (also chosen every year) represented the guilds and parishes of the city. City government was thus controlled by the mercantile or artisanal class, numerically predominant, although the nobility managed after 1329 to obtain alternation with the *ciutadans* in the offices of *justícia civil* and *justícia criminal* (judges of civil and criminal cases, respectively) and of *mustaçaf* (the official charged with supervision of the market, of weights and measures, and of other matters today associated with public health). The clergy had no role in municipal affairs. The two religious minorities each had its own administrative institution, the *aljama*, which depended not on the municipal government but on a royal official, the *batle general*. The hostility of Christian society towards them occasionally burst out in violent attacks against their enclaves, one of which, in 1391, effectively de-

stroyed the Jewish *aljama*, whose members were forcibly baptized and made nominal Christians (*conversos*).

Within the kingdom of Valencia the capital was by far the most important center of population, and thus presented the greatest difficulties of provisioning in times of scarcity. Hence the city controlled an extensive surrounding territory capable of providing a part of the foods and materials needed by its inhabitants. Furthermore, the *furs* of Jaume I had granted it economic privileges in order to assist its development, giving it legal advantages over the rest of the towns in the kingdom. Even so, the demographic growth of late-medieval Valencia made it increasingly difficult to feed, and from the first decades of the fourteenth century its authorities extracted from successive monarchs significant new legal and economic concessions that extended and consolidated its advantageous position vis-à-vis the remainder of the kingdom. The growth of the capital thus entailed the steady increase of its power well beyond its territorial limits, and the assertion of its interests over those of the rest of the kingdom of Valencia. It was the basis of a permanent conflict, a sort of confrontation between city and country, that cropped up again and again during the last centuries of the middle ages, and it was not without its reflection in the organization of medicine and of those who practiced it.

The Valencian legislation of 1329 was not only more detailed, it was also much more comprehensive than had been the terse edict of 1289. Under the heading “De metges” it specified seven provisions.¹⁷ Three of these have to do with concrete aspects of day-to-day professional activity: the requirement of surgeons that they provide expert testimony when asked for it by a competent authority (provision 4); the insistence that every practitioner, physician or surgeon, take an annual oath not to treat a gravely ill patient if the patient has not already confessed, and to inquire into this (provision 6); and the requirement that therapeutic instructions be made in recipes in the vernacular language, naming the different ingredients not in Latin but with their “comú e vulgar” name—that is, in Catalan—so that they may be understood by apothecaries (provision 7). But the other four provisions define the route leading through examination to practice, whether for physicians, surgeons, or barbers (provisions 1, 2, and 5), while excluding women (provision 3). The fundamental part of this legislation comes at the very beginning:

We command and ordain that the justiciar (*justicia*) and the *jurats* elect, every year, three days before Christmas, two leading physicians who shall be the

¹⁷ For the text, see below, Appendix 2, doc. 1. See also the short note by M.-A. Belda, “Los ‘metges’ y ‘apotecaris,’ en los Furs de Valencia,” in *Actas del Primer Congreso de Historia del País Valenciano* (Valencia, 1980), II, 851–854, which surveys the legislation of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

examiners of all the practitioners of physic who have recently come to practice in the city or in the towns of the kingdom; and those whom they find competent, and who have followed the art of medicine for at least four years in a *studium generale*, shall be admitted to practice the said art, and if not they shall not be admitted.

Those who wished to practice surgery had also to undergo examination by the medical examiners, although they were not required to have had medical studies; and this requirement of supervision via examination was extended to barbers who hoped to practice medicine or surgery: "no barber shall practice medicine or surgery if he has not been examined by the examiners of practitioners and found competent." As for the physicians who were practicing medicine or surgery at the moment when the new provisions were approved, they were required to prove their suitability before the examiners, and those who did not pass the tests were to be disqualified. Those most interested in maintaining these rules in force were naturally the physicians who already met the conditions laid down by the new *furs*; and in fact it was they who denounced all sorts of unqualified practitioners. The provisions of the *furs* stimulated the denunciation of someone who was practicing without a license by creating a system that divided his fine into thirds, destined respectively to pay the costs of the trial, to swell the treasury of the place where the denunciation was made, and to reward the accuser.¹⁸

In the northern lands of the Crown of Aragon, in Catalonia and Aragon proper, medical practice was still formally governed by the terse prescription of Monzón (1289), though we know of no attempts to enforce this provision during the first forty years that it was nominally in effect (the reenactments of Cervera and Valls were merely ratifications of the principle involved). In the 1330s, however, there was clearly a newly wakening sense that medical practice in Catalonia should be supervised, and that the old *constitutiones Cathalonie* provided the means to do this. It seems scarcely possible that the Valencian *fur* enacted in 1329 was not the immediate stimulus for the Catalan interest in licensing of the 1330s—particularly since one feature of the Valencian legislation that had not been enacted at Monzón, that academic medical training could substitute for qualification by examination, was by now apparently accepted in the north as well as the south. In October 1334, replying to a complaint by the "medici civitatis Barchinone" about unqualified practitioners, the infante Pere, son of Alfons IV, agreed that "by the rights and constitutions of Catalonia" no one who had not previously been examined should be allowed to practice medicine in

¹⁸ "And anyone who practices without the said examination and licensing shall be fined 100 morabatins of gold for each infraction, of which a third shall go to the court, a third to the town, and a third to the accuser." Below, doc. 1.

Barcelona and its surroundings, except for "masters and bachelors in the art."¹⁹ The Valencian standards were explicitly extended to the remainder of the Crown of Aragon at the *corts* of Cervera in 1359, which emphasized their innovative character in comparison with the *fueros* of Monzón that had hitherto been in effect:

Confirming the chapter from the said *cortes* of Monzón, beginning "Likewise we ordain and decree, etc.," and adding to it, we decree that no lawyer in cities, towns, or other significant places may practice law nor exercise the office of judge or assessor if he does not have all the ordinary books of civil law, or at least the ordinary books of canon law, or has not studied them for at least five years in a *studium generale*, which he must swear to have done. And we wish the same to be required of physicians in the art of medicine, except that it is enough for them to have studied for only three years in a *studium generale*.²⁰

Here, for the first time outside of Valencia, a university degree was identified as the standard for medical qualification in the Crown of Aragon.²¹

As the example of the "medici Barchinone" shows, established physicians often took the lead aggressively in this new insistence that Catalan medicine be regulated, and there is certainly reason to suspect that an emergent monopolistic self-interest rather than concern for the public welfare was a principal motive. The Barcelonan physicians triumphed decisively when Pere (now King Pere IV) gave their collectivity supervisory authority over the city and a surrounding area in May 1342.²² In rural areas, where competition was almost unknown, this

¹⁹ ACA, Cancillería, reg. 571, fols. 91v-92; printed by J. Rubió Balaguer, *Documentos*, pp. [19]–[20].

²⁰ "Confirmants encara lo capítol en la dita cort de Muntçó fet, qui comença: Item ordonam e statuim etc., e a aquell enadint, statuim que negun savi en dret en les ciutats, viles, ne encara insignes altres lochs no puxe advocar, ni offici de jutge o de assessor regir si tots los libres ordinaris de dret civil no ha, o aldemenys los libres ordinaris de dret canònic. E que aquells aldemenys haja hoïts per v. anys en studi general, de la qual cosa per sagrament sie tengut fer fe. E açò mateix en los metges de art de física volem ésser observat, sàul que bast aquells en general studi per iii. anys tant solament haver hoït." "Usatges y constitucions de Catalunya" (ACA, Generalitat, vol. 3, fol. 40); published by J. Rubió Balaguer, *Documentos*, pp. [35]–[36].

²¹ Of course, as in Barcelona (above, fn. 19), an academic standard had occasionally been imposed locally outside Valencia before 1359. In November 1337, the king responded to the complaint by Guido, a physician of Teruel, that persons "non experti seu docti in naturali medicinali et chirurgica scienciis" were practicing medicine in that Aragonese town, by insisting that all those in question should submit to an examination to test their proficiency; the language suggests that some sort of theoretical learning in addition to practical skill would be required of candidates. ACA, Cancillería, reg. 862, fol. 82v; published by A. López de Meneses, "Documentos culturales de Pedro el Ceremonioso," *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 5 (1952), 671–672, doc. 3.

²² "Hanc autem ordinationem et ex ea subsequencia extendi volumus non solum ad civitatem Barchinone . . . sed etiam ad vicarium Barchinone et Vallensis et ad baiuliam . . . Barchinone ac baiulias eidem baiulie subiectas; et medici in ipsis vicariis et baiuliis habitantes ad premissa servanda existant totaliter obligati." ACA, Cancillería,

new attitude caught some practitioners by surprise. In April 1338 Ramon Roquer of Socarrats (near Castellfullit de Roca) complained to King Pere in bewilderment that "he had practiced the art of surgery for a long time, and, although he was a layman and unlettered, he owned good books and had good cures to his credit, as was well known in his district; but now some surgeons envious of him have maliciously caused royal officials to order him not to practice surgery until he has been examined *per medicos*."²³ But there was evidently public as well as professional pressure involved behind the regulatory movement in Catalonia. It was the *prohomes* of Montblanch, not its physicians, who complained in 1339 about ignorant practitioners debilitating or killing their patients, inducing King Pere to order his vicar and bailiff there to prohibit anyone from practicing medicine or surgery in Montblanch "donec examinata et approbata fuerit iuxta constitutiones predictas [Cathalonie]."²⁴ However mixed the underlying motives, a new sensitivity to the issue of professional qualification had arisen in Catalonia by the 1330s, and this no doubt encouraged the flurry of appeals for medical certification or examination that we suddenly find there in the second half of the decade.²⁵

This mixture of motives reflects the fact that the seventy years between the *cortes* of Monzón and of Cervera were a period of transition for Catalan medicine, during which the supervision and control of practitioners shifted from the towns to the medical community itself. By the *corts* of Cervera the municipal bureaucracy was in effect stripped of the responsibility, given it in 1289, of deciding whether an

reg. 873, fol. 154v; García Ballester, "Los orígenes," pp. 138–140, 148–149.

²³ "Raimundus Roquerii de Biania de parroquia de Soquerats nobis exposuit reverenter quod cum ipse ab antiquo uteretur et utatur officio chirurgie licet sit laycus et sine litteris tamen habeat bonos libros et fecerit et facit bonas curas et de hoc est fama in tota illa terra et nunc quidam chirurgici sibi emuli maliciose fecerit fieri sibi mandamentum per officiales nostros quod non utatur dicto officio usquequo per medicos fuerit examinatus et a dicto tempore citra vixerit pacifice et quiete sine aliqua examinatione. Et propterea supplicaverit nobis sibi super hiis de jure remedio provideri. . . ." ACA Cancillería, reg. 596, 16v (Barcelona, 10 kals. May 1338).

²⁴ "Petrus etc. dilectis et fidelibus suis vicario et baiulo Montisalbi presentibus et qui pro tempore fuerint salutem etc. Ne propter impericiam medicorum infirmi egentes fisicorum aut chirurgicorum auxilio confoveri incurrant irreparabilem detrimentum, in constitutionibus Cathalone provide fuit cautum ne quisque auderet medicine vel chirurgie officium exercere nisi per peritas personas in dictis artibus prius examinatus esset repertus sufficiens atque aptus. Cumque et villa et vicaria Montisalbi tam homines quam femine in dictis artibus imperiti curam infirmorum assumant et ex eorum ignorantia pluris afligant aliisque debilitent et occidant, idcirco ad humilem supplicationem proborum hominum dicte ville vobis districte precipiendo mandamus quatenus sibi expedientibus penis vestri arbitrios apponendis ipsisque nostro erario aplicandis inhibeatis expresse voce preconia et al' ne aliqua persona uti presumat in dicta villa vel eius vicaria officio medicine vel chirurgie donec examinata et approbata fuerit iuxta constitutiones predictas, vobis firmiter inungentes ut a contrafacientibus ipsas penas exhigatis adiectas et al' ipsos pro commissis taliter prehabente iustic. puniatis quod sit ceteris in exemplum. Dat. Barchinone, prid. id. Aug. (1339)." ACA Cancillería, reg. 603, 137v.

²⁵ For example: ACA Cancillería, reg. 863, 200v (5 kals. Apr. 1338); 863, 231v (9 kals. May 1338); 604, 103 (3 id. Nov. 1339); 873, 139 (7 kals. May 1342).

individual had the necessary knowledge to be entrusted with human health. The physicians to whom this control was turned over had not been a cohesive social group when the earlier legislation was enacted, but as we have just seen this was beginning to change by the 1330s, as physicians began to recognize and to act to further their collective interest. The Catalan towns had provided a setting in which disciplinary self-consciousness could be forged, and once that was done municipal control could no longer maintain itself against claims to professional self-regulation.

What sets the Valencian situation apart, then, is that there the municipality was able to maintain a role in the control of medical activity, by selecting the tribunal of professional examiners. A Valencian bourgeoisie had made its influence felt from the very moment of the conquest,²⁶ an influence evident throughout the diversity of socio-economic and religious life within the city,²⁷ and medical care did not escape. Indeed, the *furs* of 1329 gave the bourgeois-dominated city government the right to control medical practice not only within the city but throughout the kingdom of Valencia,²⁸ a right on which it insisted throughout the fourteenth century.

²⁶ "Els primers privilegis que figuren a l'*Aureum opus* relatiu al règim jurídic de la ciutat de València—i que són, és clar, posteriors a 1238—acusen ja la petjada d'aquells principis jurídics postulats per la burgesia ciutadana. El de 21 de maig de 1239 . . . ja conté una claudicació del rei. . . . Els privilegis que acabem de esmentar semblen indicar-nos clarament que la naixent burgesia ciutadana de València era qui propugnava la constitució del nou dret valencià. . . ." *Furs de València*, ed. G. Colón i A. García, I: Introducció (Barcelona, 1970), pp. 49–50.

²⁷ Agustín Rubio Vela, "Una fundación burguesa en la Valencia medieval: el Hospital de En Clapers (1311)," *Dynamis* 1 (1981), 17–49; idem, "La asistencia hospitalaria infantil en la Valencia del siglo XIV: pobres, huérfanos y expósitos," *Dynamis* 2 (1982), 159–191; idem, *Pobreza, enfermedad y asistencia hospitalaria en la Valencia del siglo XIV* (Valencia, 1984).

²⁸ " . . . en la ciutat e en les viles del regne"; below, doc. 1.

II. THE LICENSING PROCEDURE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

It is in 1336 that the municipal records of Valencia first give the names of the persons elected as *examinadors* for would-be medical practitioners, stating that masters Bertomeu de Casaldòria and Pere Correger had been chosen for the task. From this point on, through the rest of the century, it is possible to reconstruct the list of physicians who formally granted or refused licenses to those who wished to practice medicine and/or surgery in the city and kingdom of Valencia.¹ In spite of the *furs'* prescription that the election should take place three days before Christmas, for the first twenty years the appointment of the *examinadors* seems to have taken place on Pentecost. Until 1367 their names are inscribed in the *manuals de consell* (which recorded municipal business) along with the list of municipal *consellers* selected on that day; from that time on, however, the election of *examinadors* usually took place on 22 December, as required by the *furs*.²

The procedure followed in Valencia in granting licenses to practice medicine remained almost unchanged throughout this period, as can be inferred from an analysis of the texts. The candidate presented himself before the municipal authority, the civil justiciar (*justícia civil*) or his assessor, submitting a letter from the examiners that attested to the results of the examination and recommended that he be licensed to practice in the city of Valencia and the towns of the kingdom. The justiciar then administered an oath to the candidate, requiring him to swear that he would use his art or science properly and that he would observe the provisions of the chapter "De metges" of the *furs* of Alfons IV; he also had to promise to fulfill any conditions that the examiners

¹ The municipal records have some gaps in their listings of these names—for example in 1356–1368, 1371–1378, and 1389–1392—but these gaps can be partially filled from supplementary documentation. See Appendix 1 below for our reconstruction of the list of practitioners elected to the tribunal on a year-by-year basis during the fourteenth century.

² Exceptions to this choice of date occurred in 1369 and 1400, when the election was deferred for a week; Archivo Municipal de Valencia (hereafter AMV), *Manuals de Consells*, A-15, fol. 1r (first gathering), and A-22, fol. 49v.

In 1400 a terminological change was made, though it would not be maintained: the word *corregidors* was introduced in place of *examinadors* (though the latter term was preserved to apply to the other professions, lawyers and notaries). AMV, *Manuals de Consells*, A-22, fol. 49v. This usage of *corregidor* at the turn of the fifteenth century has not been mentioned by A. M. Alcover, F. de B. Moll, M. Sanchis Guarner, *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear* (Palma de Mallorca, 1980), III, 579.

might have imposed.³ As he swore, he placed his right hand on the scriptures (if he were a Muslim he would also face south, towards *migjorn*, the theoretical direction of Mecca⁴). A Jew would swear by the Old Testament—"los deu manaments de la ley, los quals nostre senyor Déus donà a Moysés en lo mont de Senahí"⁵; a Muslim would swear by God and the Quran, as prescribed by Muslim religious (*zuna*) and civil (*xara*) precepts⁶; and a Christian by the Gospels, "los sants quatre Evangelis de nostre senyor Déu."⁷ When this was done, the justiciar or his assessor would hand over the license in the form of a document directed to the authorities of the kingdom, certifying to them the competence of the individual in question and requesting them not to impede or hinder him in the practice of his profession.

These Valencian procedures are identical to those that eventually came into being in Barcelona. Rubió has published the text of an examination carried out in the Catalan capital in 1359⁸ that conforms closely to those collected by us from Valencia in the last quarter of the century. And this practice of Barcelona and Valencia is very similar to the procedure already being followed at Montpellier in the first decade of the fourteenth century, as can be seen from a *licentia practicandi medicine* granted at Montpellier in 1307 that has fortunately been preserved. Pierre Calberte, bachelor in medicine, presented himself before the bishop's vicar—the bishop was the licensing authority for Montpellier—requesting a license to practice medicine in the city. The vicar, "conformably with the statutes and privileges of the physicians" (referring to the *collegium* or guild of physicians existing in Montpellier), summoned two masters in medicine and required them to examine the candidate in public. The two examiners chose a medical work and asked that the candidate "read" a portion of it (*ad legendum lectionem certam dicte scientie*), and his reading (*lectio*) laid the basis for an exchange of detailed questions and answers between the examiners and the candidate: *diligenter examinatus extitit in et super dicta scientia per magistros memoratos*. At the end of the exercise, the vicar asked the two masters whether they judged the candidate *sufficientem ac ydoneum* to obtain the license permitting him to practice medicine, and one spoke for both in agreeing that the bachelor was "worthy by reason of his *scientia*" to practice. Then the vicar gave "Petro Calberte, bacallario in

³ In January 1338 Pere IV granted the request of the *jurats* and *prohomes* of Valencia that anyone who had taken this oath need not repeat it; apparently until then it had had to be repeated every year. ACA, Cancillería, reg. 862, 108v.

⁴ Appendix 2, doc. 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, doc. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, doc. 13.

⁷ *Ibid.*, doc. 5.

⁸ J. Rubió Balaguer in A. de la Torre y del Cerro, *Documentos para la historia de la Universidad de Barcelona*, I (Barcelona, 1971), doc. 22, pp. [38]–[40].

medicina, practicandi et exercendi officium dicte scientie in Montepesulano et in tota Megalonensi diocesi licentiam ac potestatem plenariam," and a notary subsequently prepared the public certificate.⁹

There is every reason to suppose that in Barcelona and Valencia, as well as in Montpellier, the core of the licensing examination was a *lectio*, a technical reading of one or more of the texts that formed the basis of medieval medical education. In the Barcelonan examination reported by Rubió, a tribunal comprising four masters in medicine (three of them Valencians: Pere Ros d'Orsins, Bertomeu de Tresbens, and Arnau Germà) investigated the "aptitude and adequacy" of the candidate (Jaume de Pallars, later physician to King Pere IV) by posing him "plurima questiones, argumenta et alia." Similarly, in all the licenses so far collected from Valencia, the examiners declare whether the candidate is trained in the principles of the science of medicine. The import of "lectio" in this period of medical scholasticism could be very broad, ranging from simple explication of the meaning of words or phrases to a much more detailed analysis. Because the *lectio* possessed real flexibility, as the basis of an examination it could easily lead to a variety of *questiones et responsiones* by which a candidate's mastery of the "principles of medical science" could be explored.¹⁰ Unfortunately, none of the licenses known from the fourteenth-century Crown of Aragon gives us information that might allow us to identify the concrete texts—Galen, Hippocrates, Johannitius, Avicenna, Haly Abbas, and so forth—on which the *lectio* was based.

Still, despite this lack of direct testimony, we can get a general sense of the content of the *lectio* and of the *questiones et responsiones* to which it gave rise from the fact that, as we have seen, the examiners tried in this part of the examination to see how familiar the candidate was with the "principles of the science of medicine." Thanks to our knowledge of the library of one of the Valencian examiners—Sanç del Miracle (c. 1290–c. 1360), who was a member of the licensing tribunal in 1351 and 1354¹¹—we know the writings he was familiar with and might have viewed as constitutive of the "science of medicine." Sanç owned three encyclopedic medical works: the *Colliget* of Averroes, the *Canon* of Avicenna, and the *Pantegni* of Haly Abbas. He was familiar, too, with several treatises of Galen, most importantly *De morbo et accidenti* and *De therapeutica ad Glauconem*; with the treatise on specialized pathology by Avenzoar, the *Teisir*; and, of course, with the *Isagoge* of Johannitius, the epitome of scholastic medicine.¹² Of the two Galenic

⁹ A. Germain, *Cartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier*, I (Montpellier, 1890), pp. 217–219; doc. 24.

¹⁰ On the role of the *lectio* in scholastic pedagogy, see M. D. Chenu, *Introduction à l'étude de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, second edition (Montreal and Paris, 1954), pp. 67ff.

¹¹ His library is included in his will, drawn up on 29 June 1351 (Archivo del Reino de Valencia [hereafter ARV], Protocolos, no. 2959, s.f.).

¹² There is no need to give a full transcription of this important library, which we have

titles, the former was that given by medieval physicians to an extensive treatise on clinical medicine and pathology (actually a conflation of four different Galenic texts: *De morborum differentiis*, *De morborum causis*, *De symptomatum differentiis*, and *De symptomatum causis*); the latter was a work on general and special therapeutics, very popular in the middle ages. Most of these had become required reading in the curriculum of the faculty of medicine at Montpellier (where Sanç del Miracle would have studied about 1310–1315) as a result of the impact of the “new Galen,” the corpus of Galenic works that was introduced into Montpellier in the 1280s; many of the other texts making up the “new Galen” must also have figured in the library of our Valencian examiner.¹³

If we now examine the *Isagoge* of Johannitius or the *Pantegni*—of all those named above, perhaps the works most systematic and most balanced between what medieval physicians called theory and practice—we see that *medicina theorica* “consists of a satisfactory knowledge” of three groups of concepts: the naturals, the non-naturals, and the contra-naturals. The first are the constituents of the body (elements, complexions, humors, spirits, organs, etc.); the second, while not constitutive parts of the body, form part of its physical, biological, and social environment in interaction (normal or pathological) with it, and fall into six groups: airs, food and drink, work and rest, sleep and waking, excretions and secretions, and passions of the mind (sadness, joy, etc.); the third, the contra-naturals, include the three main areas of pathology: illness itself, the cause of illness, and the symptoms or concrete manifestations of illness. This is the skeletal system on which a theoretical understanding of medical science was built up, and we may suppose that it provided the basis for the *lectio*.

not yet studied fully. But certain features are of particular interest. It included “XIX. libri qui tractant de istoriis animalium Aristotelis,” which is plainly Michael Scot’s Latin version (made from the Arabic c. 1217) of the biological writings of Aristotle; for some philosophically-minded physicians this work offered a biological and methodological basis for medical theory. It included many different sections of Avicenna’s *Canon* with commentaries thereupon (“Item, unum alium librum apellatum primum et quartum librum Evicenne. . . . Item tertium librum Evicenne non perfectum et quintum librum Evicenne . . . unus tractatus de questionibus super primo et quarto libris Evicenne . . . et alius liber alterius voluminis . . . de questionibus super primo et quarto libris Evicenne.”). And it included other classics of Arabic medicine deriving from an Iberian or Montpellier setting: “Item, alium librum cum coopertis viridis nuncupatum Gordo, cum alio libro qui est sub eodem volumine vocato Albocasim Azarahui. . . . Item, alium librum vocatum Colliet qui aliter nominatur Averrois, cum coopertis fustis. . . . Item, alium librum . . . in pergameno, vocatum Avenzuar.”

¹³ Sanç’s will reads in part: “Item dimito Bernardo filio meo quemdam librum vocatum volumen Galieni, in quo continetur decemseptem libri, cum coopertis fustis tectis corio rubeo.” On the “new Galen” at Montpellier and the reform of the curriculum of 1309, see Luis García Ballester, “Arnau de Vilanova (c.1240–1311) y la reforma de los estudios médicos en Montpellier (1309): el Hipócrates latino y la introducción del nuevo Galeno,” *Dynamis* 2 (1982), 97–158. Curiously, Sanç’s library contained none of the works of Arnau de Vilanova, arguably the principal figure in the introduction of the “new Galen” into Montpellier’s curriculum.

The Valencian licenses we have encountered suggest, however, that there was more to the examination than a *lectio*, for it would seem that the *examinadors* were also concerned to assure themselves that those who wished to practice were familiar with routine medical activity—that is, with the diagnosis and treatment of concrete ailments. How could they arrive at an evaluation of these practical skills on the part of the candidates? There is no indication that a specific practical test was imposed (except, as we will see, when a candidate had to perform before the tribunal the particular surgical technique for which he had requested a license); but the examiners had other ways of assessing an individual's competence to practice. They could use the *lectio* to probe a candidate's familiarity with what the licenses call "malalties forts e grans" or "malalties perilloses," sometimes identified more precisely: "febres continues, frenesis et altres malalties agudes." No one could diagnose or treat such illnesses who was not versed in the details of pathological theory, since—as one of the documents says explicitly—these are "malalties requirents sciència de físicha."¹⁴

Furthermore, the *examinadors* could complement their inquiry into the theoretical basis for practice by requiring the candidate to show the tribunal that he already possessed a certain practical experience, referred to in the licenses as "pràtica de curar les malalties" or "convinent pràtica." In the later middle ages, as now, this practice was normally acquired by attending the sick in company with other, more experienced, physicians. At the end of a certain period, the physician or physicians who had supervised the candidate in practice would provide him with a letter setting out the experience he had gained—illnesses encountered, treatments administered, successes achieved, and so forth—which would take on an official character after certification by a notary. In reporting the examination taken by Bernat Giner, the Valencian tribunal emphasized the "longua continuació que ha feyta ab metges en pràtica," testified to by "diverses metges antichs en una carta pública, la qual nós havem vista."¹⁵ Such a letter, supplied by experienced practitioners and testifying to a candidate's clinical and therapeutic practice, may be the adaptation to new circumstances of the Arabic *ijaza*, a document originally presenting the testimony of a master physician that its bearer had read and studied certain medical books with success and was qualified himself to teach, but which with time had come to be a certification of a student's clinical training as well.¹⁶ We have already seen that, in the *lectio*, the ritual of the examination was shaped by the Christian university culture; the incorpora-

¹⁴ Appendix 2, doc. 8.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, doc. 11.

¹⁶ Cf. the article "Idjaza" by G. Vajda in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (new edition; Leiden/London, 1971), III, 1020–1021.

tion into the rite of this letter may be a corresponding expression of cultural syncretism from Islam.

The tribunal did not restrict itself to granting or denying the license, did not simply declare candidates qualified or unqualified; it also granted conditional licenses to practice. In some cases, the candidate had not shown satisfactory ability in the *lectio* or theoretical portion of the examination and yet had not proved so weak as to be rejected outright. In the license granted by the *examinadors* to the Jew Hizmel Morcat in 1378 to practice medicine and surgery, they required him to attend patients accompanied by another physician who would be "sufficient, abte e antich en speculativa."¹⁷ In 1383 another candidate, this one a Christian, was required for the same reason ("havem trobat que no és tehòrich") to practice in conjunction with "metges autèntichs o de auctoritat et pus sperts"—and this in spite of a consensus that his practical skills had already been satisfactorily demonstrated: "ha covenent pràtica et antiga en física et en cirurgia . . . que ha feyta ab metges."¹⁸

As is perhaps understandable, however, conditional licensing more often was a response to deficiencies in practical training—when the candidate had given a satisfactory *lectio*, demonstrating the adequacy of his scientific understanding, but revealed an unsatisfactory practical background, perhaps because he had practiced for too short a time, or because he had encountered too little illness. So it was with another Jew, Içach Gabriel, of whom the examiners reported that "we have found him acquainted with the principles of the science of physic, but he has not been long involved in the practice of curing illnesses."¹⁹ Içach was licensed provisionally, on condition that when he was called to a patient suffering from an "enfermetat fort e gran," he would ask a colleague of greater experience to collaborate with him on the case.

Restrictions like this not only affected the private realm of doctor-patient relationships, they also occasionally carried over into the public responsibilities of the physician. Not infrequently both physicians and surgeons were called to testify as expert witnesses, to provide "pronosticació o desospitació davant lo justícia criminal," in cases regarding such things as accusations of assault (where the physician would speak to the seriousness and possible consequence of wounds), certification of slaves sold with concealed illnesses, and so forth. Some newly licensed physicians were seen as incompetent to supply this expert testimony. When the Christian surgeon Sisto Fort was granted a

¹⁷ Appendix 2, doc. 8.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, doc. 11.

¹⁹ " . . . Havem atrobat en los principis de la dita sciència de física introduhit, emperò ab la pràctica de curar les malalties no ha longament praticat ni usat." *Ibid.*, doc. 6.

license in 1378, the examiners specified that if cases arose where he might need to give such forensic evidence, he should request the association of an expert colleague, "algun físich apte e suficient en companyat."²⁰

It was in the practice of surgery—the dramatic and high-risk area of therapeutics—that conditions were most often imposed. Bernat Giner was granted a license to practice medicine and "minor surgery," and was expressly prohibited from having anything to do with the three great cavities—head, chest, and abdomen—or with "other dangerous wounds."²¹ Similarly, in 1388 a Muslim barber from Manises, Maymó Abdochaxis, was restricted to the practice of minor surgery (which as a matter of fact was all he had asked for).²² The Italian surgeon Tommaso de Maestre Tone, who wished to be allowed merely to operate on hernias (*potresos*, *potres*, *trencadures*, *ruptures*), was permitted to do so, but on condition that he fully inform everyone who chose to place himself in his hands of the risks involved: first, of the danger of death involved in the operation, and second, of the prospect of partial or total loss of the genitals.²³

Because of the particular skills needed to carry out certain surgical operations—the cure of hernias, cutting to extract bladder stones, couching of cataracts—the *lectio* was given less importance in the examination of candidates wishing a license to perform them. Why a certification of technical competence was given more weight in such cases was made clear by the examiners (the prestigious Pere Figuerola and Guillem Ça-Fàbrega, both "maestres en artes e en medicina") who endorsed a limited license for the surgeon Johan de Sena in November 1389: "these things pertain more to experience and manual activity than to scientific understanding."²⁴ Two other licenses reveal that such skills might be demonstrated directly before the examiners. The first of these is from July 1389, when the *examinadors* granted a license to the surgeon Joan Gaschó to extract vesical calculi on the basis of an examination and "a demonstration carried out before us."²⁵ The second license is even more explicit, giving details of the patient on whom the test was performed. On 21 March 1390, the *examinadors* Bernat d'Artesa and Gabriel Dezcortell (both academically trained) examined the

²⁰ Ibid., doc. 7. The requirement that every surgeon be ready to provide a *desospitació* for a patient in his care, free of charge, is laid down by the *furs* of 1329 (though the technical term is not employed); below, Appendix 2, doc. 1 section <4>.

²¹ Appendix 2, doc. 11.

²² Ibid., doc. 13.

²³ Ibid., doc. 10.

²⁴ "... Com les dites coses stiguén més en speriència e hobra manual que no en teòrica de sciència." Ibid., doc. 25.

²⁵ Ibid., doc. 21.

surgeon Toríbio Gonçálvez, who wished a license to operate for hernia. In their report to the justiciar they declared that, after administering the normal tests,

since we found the said Toríbio Gonçálvez competent to treat the said malady, and since we wished him to operate in our presence, to discharge us of responsibility, and he did treat the aforesaid malady in Minguiquo Aznar, a boy of 14 years, the son of Domingo Aznar of Novaliches in Jérica; therefore . . . we ask you . . . to grant him license to treat the aforesaid condition,²⁶

and a license to practice this particular operation was duly granted.

Nevertheless, such assessments of a candidate's practical abilities might still be shaped by the examiners' familiarity with the standard texts. The license granted Andreu Martí in 1388 restricted him to treating certain kinds of hernias, and the restriction is expressed in a curious mixture of Catalan and Latin that appears to be drawn from Guy de Chauliac's *Chirurgia Magna* (1363):

[license:]

de ruptura dindimal, lo qual és inflació hernial, en la qual lo budell o lo cre[...] és dislogat e exit de les parts de dintre a la carn del mirach propiament *in dindimo e osseo seu testiculorum bursa*;²⁷

[Chauliac:]

De ruptura dindimali: ruptura . . . est inflatio hernialis in qua intestinum aut zirbus dislocatur et egreditur ab interioribus ad carnem miracis, proprie in dindimo et ossio seu testiculorum bursa.²⁸

Both Andreu's examiners were academically trained, one a master of arts and medicine, the other a bachelor of medicine, and even when judging a narrow technical skill they could not divorce themselves from the learned tradition.

²⁶ Ibid., doc. 27.

²⁷ Ibid., doc. 15.

²⁸ *Chirurgia magna*, VI.2.vii; MS Bristol, City Ref. Library 10, fol. 216va-b. The printed text in *Ars chirurgica* (Venice, 1546), fol. 73r, has minor variants.

III. THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE *FURS* OF 1329

The *furs* of 1329 seem immediately to have been treated as susceptible of enforcement, unlike those of 1289. In 1332 Ramon Sa Lena, an apothecary of Borriana, was accused before the justiciar of Valencia of pursuing the art or office of medicine in Borriana and other towns within the application of the *furs* in the period since they had come into effect.¹ Two years later, in December 1334, master Jacme Lama was also accused before the justiciar of Valencia of practicing medicine without a license and against the regulations established by “los furs nous . . . feyts per lo senyor rey en la ciutat de València en l’any de M. CCC. XX. IX.”² Three years later still, in March 1338, Hamet Hatequia, a Muslim physician from Xàtiva “in arte medicine doctus et peritus,” asked King Pere IV for a license to practice in the city and kingdom of Valencia; the king acknowledged in his response that “per foros novos Valentie omnes medici ad exercendo eodem officio donec examinati fuerint prohibentur.”³ These three documents of the 1330s not only show us the *furs* in effect; each also provides us with an almost paradigmatic introduction to difficulties that would arise when the new licensing procedures confronted social reality in the kingdom. Let us look at each of these cases in turn.

I

The case of the Borriana apothecary Ramon (or Raimundus) Sa Lena is interesting as our earliest proof of the application of the new *furs*, but it has other curious features as well. The apothecary was denounced before the justiciar of Valencia under the *furs* of 1329 for having practiced medicine without an examination. The justiciar absolved him, though we do not know the conditions of the judgment; we know only that Ramon subsequently came to the king to ensure that royal authority would protect him against any future accusations. Thus from the outset two authorities, king and municipality, were po-

¹ Archivo de la Corona de Aragón [ACA], Cancillería, reg. 485, fol. 140r.

² Appendix 2, doc. 2.

³ ACA, Cancillería, reg. 863, fol. 161r.

tentially in conflict, authorities who would persist in competition for control of the Valencian medical profession throughout the fourteenth century and even beyond.

The king's response to Ramon's petition brings into evidence one major problem that had been intensified by the imposition of a qualifying examination on Valencian practitioners: a chronic shortage of medical care at every level in large sections of the kingdom, like the expanse between Borriana and Valencia. The lord of Nules had defended Ramon to the king, asserting dramatically that, in the words of the king's reply,

in the town of Nules and in your other towns and villages there is no physician or surgeon or other skilled person from whom you and the inhabitants of these towns and villages can receive advice and assistance and medicines for sickness and other afflictions. . . . Since it would be tiresome, dangerous, and a burden for you to come to the city of Valencia or some other big city because of their distance from you for advice and treatment of these sicknesses and afflictions for you and your men, . . . to avoid these dangers we give a full license and confer power on Ramon Sa Lena, apothecary in the town of Borriana.⁴

Concerns of this sort were widespread throughout the Crown of Aragon in the 1330s, as evidenced by complaints of inadequacy of health care, on the one hand, and by signs that empirics were proliferating to supply public needs, on the other. In 1334 the physicians of Barcelona attacked the growing number of men and women who were practicing medicine in the city without the necessary qualifications.⁵ This coincided with a marked scarcity of surgeons in the Catalan capital, to the point that Leon, a Greek slave "expert in surgery," was given his freedom so that he might practice the art there.⁶ Again, in 1338, the inhab-

⁴ " . . . asserentium quod in loco de Nules et in aliis locis et alchareis vestris non est aliquis phisicus sive chirurgicus vel alia artesana persona cum qua consilium et remedium vos et habitantes in dictis locis et alchareis possitis recipere nec ab eis res medicinales habere super infirmitatibus et aliis accidentibus. . . . Cum sint vobis tediosum periculum et onus etiam . . . recurrere ad civitatem Valentie vel alia notabilia loca propter eorum distantiam pro consilio et remedio in dictis infirmitatibus et accidentibus vobis et dictis vestris hominibus . . . et ad vitandum pericula supradicta, plenam damus licentiam et conferimus potestatem Raimundo Çalena, apothecario loci de Borriana." Ibid., reg. 485, fols. 240r-v.

⁵ "Nos infans Petrus etc. quia per vos medicos civitatis Barchinone fuit nobis insinuatione humili demonstratum quod in dicta civitate et vicaria eiusdem nonnulli homines atque femine, cupiditatis morbo infecti ac ignari artis et sciencie medicine, recipiunt sub eorum curis aliquos pacientes, qui eorum egritudinum causas ignorantes eis ministrare inutilia vel ven[en]osa pocula non verentur. . . ." ACA, Cancillería, reg. 571, fols. 91v-92; J. Rubió Balaguer, in A. de la Torre y del Cerro, *Documentos para la historia de la Universidad de Barcelona*, I (Barcelona, 1971), doc. 13, p. [19].

⁶ "Leonus sit in arte chirurgica valde expertus et civitate Barchinone predictae multum necessarium propter chirurgicorum inopiam existere in civitate." ACA, Cancillería, reg. 571, fols. 69r-v.

itants of the Pyrenean county of Ribagorça complained to Pere IV that "in dicto committatu non sit aliquis medicus sive fisicus sufficiens."⁷ In 1342 the lord of Jérica asked the king to allow a Jewish physician to move there from the city of Valencia on account of the "magna inopia fisicorum" in the town.⁸ And two years later the mountain town of Morella (Valencia) complained to the king of the inadequacy of health care there, in particular its lack of surgeons.⁹

There is good evidence of this same shortage in the second half of the century. It was particularly acute during the 1350s, immediately after the Black Death—even in the cities, where the number of physicians was normally proportionally greater, as the authorities of Xàtiva made plain to Pere IV in 1352:

By reason of the sterility of times past, as well as of the deaths which the Almighty has allowed to flourish in the world, that abundance of physicians and surgeons which used to be found in the city of Xàtiva and other large cities is now so diminished that it is scarcely possible to find a single surgeon here.¹⁰

The town of Castellón suffered from a lack of physicians throughout the 1370s. In 1374 the municipal *consell* acknowledged that the town needed a physician desperately;¹¹ in 1378 the same *consell*, confronted with a continuing need, charged the apothecary (*specier*) Pere Morades with treating the poor and with visiting the sick in hospital;¹² and the next year a delegation from Castellón was sent to Valencia to try to contract with a physician there to move permanently to Castellón.¹³

Established physicians perceived the potential problem as being one of too many unqualified practitioners, and their solution was to introduce examinations; but the local citizenry saw the problem instead as an absence of medical assistance, and viewed the requirement of an

⁷ ACA, Cancillería, reg. 864, fol. 85r.

⁸ ACA, Cancillería, reg. 874, fol. 24v (kal. Nov. 1342).

⁹ ACA, Cartas reales, Pedro IV, 11 November 1344; published in A. Rubió y Lluch, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-eva*, I (Barcelona, 1908), 131–32; doc. CXXII. The same document is enregistered in ACA, Cancillería, reg. 877, fol. 17r–v.

¹⁰ "Attamen quia nobis constat, tam occasione temporum preteritorum sterilitatis quam ratione mortalitatum que per universum orbem dudum, permittente Altissimo, viguerunt, copiam fisicorum et sirurgicorum qui in civitate Xative et aliis notabilibus locis esse solebant, in tantum fore diminutam quod vix aliquem sirurgicum invenire poterit in eadem." ACA, Cancillería, reg. 893, fol. 84r. Published by A. López de Meneses, "Documentos acerca de la Peste Negra en los dominios de la Corona de Aragón," *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 6 (1956), 411; doc. 132.

¹¹ A. Sánchez Gozalbo, "La sanidad en el Castellón trecentista (veterinarios, médicos y boticarios)," *Bol. Soc. Cast.* 48 (1972), 261; doc. IV.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 265; docs. XVI, XVII.

¹³ "Item con en Bernat Cabeça, jurat, per lurs afers fos stat a València et hagués procreu si porie haver metge et hagués trobat metge quj vendrie star a la dita vila si aquell eren donats cent fflorins per pensió del any lo qual metge ere mestre Pere Castellet." *Ibid.*, p. 267; doc. XXI (12 April 1379).

examination more as a monopolistic maneuver of the medical *collegium* or guild than as a means of improving health care. Indeed, many of those who practiced without an examination were praised by the public because "they attend the sick poor and incapacitated who lack the means to pay the salaries of physicians or to afford the price of medicines,"¹⁴ and because they brought about "many good and useful cures."¹⁵ Hence, in the opinion of the public, physicians who complained of violations of the Valencian *furs* often spoke "more from malice than from zeal or justice,"¹⁶ "more from envy than from any other reason."¹⁷ The reasons given by the monarch for granting licenses despite the provisions of the *furs*—"lack of desire for gain";¹⁸ "practice based on the love of God and of one's neighbor"¹⁹—convey the impression of a similar opinion.

The physicians of Valencia seem to have been unconcerned with the general shortage of health care; in 1351 they refused even to examine an applicant who wished to practice medicine in Alzira (40 kilometers to the south) unless he first paid them 200 *sous*, despite the pleas of town officials that Alzira had no doctor whatsoever, "no one to cure the ill and take care of their needs."²⁰ This was a problem unfortunately common to all Europe. Talbot reminds us that, at the end of the thirteenth century, the reason why one cleric taught another medicine was so that the poor might receive medical care without charge, since they had been "abandoned by physicians and surgeons."²¹

II

The complaint brought by the notary Miquel de Roures in 1334, against Jacme Lama "who calls himself a physician," alleged that "Jacme Lama presented himself for examination but was not approved by the examiners nor given a license by them to practice medicine in the city, nor was he determined to have studied four years in a *studium generale*; he gave back nonsense and inanities to the questions put to

¹⁴ "... quaque aliquibus pauperibus et egenis patientibus, qui non habent unde medicis salaria inde valeant ministrare. . . ." ACA, Cancillería, reg. 683, fols. 99v–100r; published by López de Meneses, "Documentos culturales," p. 695; doc. 31.

¹⁵ Rubió y Lluch, *Documents*, I, 132; doc. CXXII.

¹⁶ ACA, Cancillería, reg. 1909, fol. 150v; cited by R. Jordi González and J. L. Gómez Caamaño, "Mujeres y varones médicos por decisión real en el reinado de Juan I de Aragón," *Boletín Soc. Esp. Hist. Farmacia* 19 (1968), 150.

¹⁷ "Plus inductus invidia quam alia ratione"; Rubió y Lluch, I, 132; doc. CXXII.

¹⁸ ACA, Cancillería, reg. 1893, fol. 174r.

¹⁹ López de Meneses, "Documentos culturales," p. 695; doc. 31.

²⁰ "... quod non est aliquis qui in eorum infirmitatibus et necessitatibus curet eosdem." ACA, Cancillería, reg. 894, fol. 29v; published by López de Meneses, "Documentos culturales," p. 690; doc. 25.

²¹ C. H. Talbot, *Medicine in Medieval England* (London, 1967), p. 96.

him by the examiners, and was held to be incompetent."²² This complaint is worth studying for a number of reasons. It is the only document yet found from fourteenth-century Valencia—indeed, from the Crown of Aragon—containing details of the accusation and of the proceedings in such a case. It is also the one case so far found in which the complaint includes not only practicing without an examination but also those other activities prohibited by the first and seventh provisions of the *fur* of 1329: paying fees to apothecaries as well as to physicians, and prescribing medicines in Latin. Moreover, it is our only proof that the municipal system of *examinadors* was already functioning between 1331 (when Jacme Lama arrived in Valencia) and December 1334 (when the suit was brought before the justiciar of Valencia), since the municipal documentation has recorded the election of examiners of physicians and surgeons only after 1336.

Another feature of this case allows us to assess certain concrete aspects of physicians' daily practice that are otherwise difficult to measure. Because by the terms of the *furs* an accuser had a financial interest in the denunciation, it was necessary for Miquel de Roures to estimate the number of calls made by Jacme Lama, as well as the number of prescriptions he had had drawn up without proper municipal authorization. He claimed that they averaged some ten consultations daily—"ha usat de medicina o físicha deu vegades per cascun jorn poch més o menys en la dita ciutat"—and about one hundred Latin prescriptions during the three years that Jacme had practiced in the city. These details allowed Miquel to calculate the fine that Jacme Lama should pay, in this case the respectable sum of 185,000 pounds, with over 60,000 pounds thus going each to accuser, court, and municipality. Obviously economic issues were not irrelevant to the operation of this system of control over medical practice, and they were a serious threat to the unlicensed practitioner; that is, even though the system did not function particularly rapidly, even though the pressure from established physicians cannot have been particularly strong (since three years had passed before the accusation was made), the advantages of illegal professional activity had to make up for the risk of high fines.

But perhaps the most important aspect of this case to emphasize is the fact that the accused was a tonsured cleric. Jacme Lama insisted upon this before the justiciar, for it permitted him to claim the *privilegium fori*, one of the most important of the clerical privileges laid down by Innocent III at the beginning of the thirteenth century, by virtue of which clerics enjoyed immunity in any affair governed by civil law and falling under the jurisdiction of civil judges. Moreover, no cleric could be brought before such judges by a layman, and al-

²² Appendix 2, doc. 2.

ready in the fourteenth century laymen were prohibited from hearing cases in which clerics were involved.²³ All these points were raised by Jacme Lama in his response to the charge:

And the said master Jacme Lama says . . . that he is not required to reply to the accusation nor to pursue it before you, lord justiciar, for the following reasons:

First, because the said master Jacme is a tonsured cleric . . . he is not required to submit to your authority, lord justiciar, since he is not in your jurisdiction, nor can you, lord justiciar, proceed against him or his goods on the strength of the said unjust demand, since possessions fall under the law of their possessor.

Likewise, because by inspection of the said complaint it is manifest to you, lord justiciar, that the said Miquel has no right to bring it since it does not pertain to him either directly or indirectly.

The said justiciar, having studied the complaint . . . and the replies proposed to it could not imprison him in accordance with the said complaint.²⁴

Probably because the calculated fine was so large, the justiciar ordered as a precaution that a written inventory be made of the cleric's goods in case the accusation should be carried further, so that in this way "the lord king's right in the said goods might be preserved." The suit continued, but thenceforth it centered exclusively upon Lama's clerical status rather than upon his medical activities, and the remainder of the arguments heard by the tribunal, like the family quarrel that apparently underlay the complaint,²⁵ have no interest for us.

Between 1163 and 1298 the church had laid down a series of restrictions meant to regulate the situation of monks, friars, and clerics who wished to leave their residence to study medicine. As Amundsen has pointed out,²⁶ none of these ecclesiastical regulations prohibited clerics from practicing medicine. We have few evidences of medical practice by clerics or monks in the Crown of Aragon in the fourteenth century—that is, of a general practice rather than one carried on within the heart of an ecclesiastical community—and those that we do have come from the first third of the century.²⁷ In Jacme Lama's case his

²³ The *privilegium fori* goes back to the time of Constantine and was one of the most important privileges enjoyed by clerics; see Pearl Kibre, *Scholarly Privileges in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 7ff. and references there.

²⁴ Appendix 2, doc. 2.

²⁵ As it proves, the notary Miquel de Roures was related to Jacme Lama by marriage, and his denunciation was apparently the continuation of a family quarrel. The accusation does not appear to have been successful: Jacme Lama was still called "metge" in 1340 and was evidently alive as late as 1347, when he was tried for having sworn an oath to the *Unió* in opposition to royal authority (below, ch. 5, n. 61).

²⁶ D. W. Amundsen, "Medieval Canon Law on Medical and Surgical Practice by the Clergy," *Bull. Hist. Med.* 52 (1978), 22–44.

²⁷ For example, on 22 August 1326 the *consellers* of Barcelona "wrote to the superior of a religious order whose name is illegible in the document to ask that brother Bartomeu

clerical status seems only to have been nominal, perhaps that of minor orders; clerical status was regularly adopted in fourteenth-century Valencia as a device for escaping civil jurisdiction.²⁸ The “maestre Lama” practicing in Valencia 1279–1304 was probably his father, and medicine the occupation to which Jacme had been brought up.²⁹ Thus his case focuses attention on an inherent tension between ecclesiastical authority and a secular occupation moving towards professional status in this period. The tension was heightened by the oft-made contrast between healers of the soul and physicians of the body.³⁰ The interests of these two could sometimes conflict, as indeed is suggested by the fourth provision of “De metges,” which required physicians and surgeons to provide a confessor before treating a gravely ill patient.

III

The case of Hamet Hatequia, the Moor of Xàtiva who asked Pere IV to grant him a license to practice in the city and kingdom of Valencia, introduces us to the difficult situation in which the Jewish and Muslim minorities found themselves after the promulgation of the *furs* of 1329. Members of these minorities did not have access to university studies,³¹ and hence could scarcely comply with the requirement of

de Podiolo (Dez-Pujol?), who had already attended various patients successfully in Barcelona, be sent to the convent of that city.” Rubió Balaguer, *Documentos*, p. [14]. Archivo Histórico de la Ciudad de Barcelona, Llibre del Consell, IX (1325–1326), 47.

²⁸ The tonsure was a subterfuge for avoiding ordinary justice, since everyone tonsured—and hence every cleric—fell under ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In the wrangles that disturbed the city’s life the use of this recourse by persons attached to the bishop’s party (or that of some other important ecclesiastic) was so common that the *jurats* finally wrote (in a letter to the king of 18 July 1399) that to bear the tonsure had become the sign of a scoundrel; “car són molts de cascuns bandos, axí conjugats com no conjugats, axí de paratge com d’altres, portants e al·legants corona e opposants declinatòria que no són del for seglar, mas de la Ecllésia, per la qual són emparats e defeses de fet ab excomunicació dels officials reynals, no contrastant que aquells ayals no sien en sacres òrdens, (ne) servesquen a la Ecllésia, mas tenguen sola corona, la qual, axí com era e ésser deuria senyal de simpla onestat, ara és penó de malendrinea.” A. Rubio Vela, *Epistolari de la València medieval* (Valencia, 1985), p. 306.

²⁹ In November 1279 Pere III gave “magistro Lama phisico nostro et domine Regine” the right to transport into the city of Valencia all the salt produced at the coastal salt-works; he subsequently served Jaume II as physician as well (ACA, Cancillería, reg. 44, fol. 166r; 105, 148v). Lama was alive in December 1304 but dead by March 1307 (ACA, Cancillería, reg. 134, fol. 189v; reg. 296, fol. 35v).

³⁰ This has been closely studied by J. Agrimi and C. Crisciani, *Medicina del corpo e medicina dell’anima* (Milano, 1978), and C. Crisciani, “Valeurs éthiques et savoir médical entre le Xle siècle,” *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences* 5 (1983), 33–52, esp. 38–39.

³¹ To understand the evolution of this problem, as regards the Muslim (later Morisco) minority until its expulsion at the beginning of the seventeenth century, see Luis García Ballester, *Historia social de la medicina en la España de los siglos XII al XVI*, I (Madrid, 1976); idem, *Los moriscos y la medicina* (Barcelona, 1984); idem, “Academicism versus Empiricism in Practical Medicine in Sixteenth-Century Spain with Regard to Morisco Practition-

following medicine for four years in a *studium generale*.

Despite the demographic importance of the Muslim population in the kingdom of Valencia—in many parts of the kingdom it was not just the dominant but the only community—we have been able to find only two Muslim requests for a medical license in all the fourteenth century: one in 1338, made directly to the king to be allowed to practice medicine,³² and one just fifty years later, made in 1388 to the justiciar of Valencia (as the *furs* required) for permission to practice surgery.³³ Obviously this number of licenses bears no relation to the actual number of practitioners in the Muslim community. It is extremely difficult, of course, to know what kind of health care was available to the great numbers of Muslims in the kingdom of Valencia, or who attended them; yet in spite of a lack of documentation offering concrete details, everything seems to indicate that they were treated by healers from their own community who, with rare exceptions, did not practice among Christians or Jews.

Because these healers could not acquire the training in theory demanded by the examiners, they had virtually no means of penetration into Christian society, which was governed by its own model for professional health care.³⁴ Muslim healers, whether physicians or surgeons, appear in our records only when that socioreligious boundary was crossed: sometimes legally, when a member of the Muslim community accepted the professional model of the Christian society and requested an examination, but more often illegally. In these latter instances, our few data reveal “subprofessionals,” in effect *curanderos* or *curanderas*, and show us how deeply medicine was affected by the broad cultural disintegration that afflicted the Valencian Muslims living under Christian rule. In the years after the conquest of Valencia (1238), most of the Muslim intellectual minority—including learned physicians—left for Muslim realms (especially the kingdom of Granada), and the situation of the Muslims who remained in the new Christian kingdom did not encourage the survival of a scientifically sophisticated medical elite. Both King Jaume II (1292–1327) and his son Alfons IV (1327–1336) held learned Arabic medicine in high esteem, but when they sought expressly to be attended by Jewish and Muslim physicians, the best representative they could find of the latter group

ers,” in A. Wear, R. K. French, and I. Lonie, eds., *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 246–270, 338–342.

³² ACA, Cancillería, reg. 863, fol. 161r.

³³ Appendix 2, doc. 13.

³⁴ In studying and comparing charters granted and renewed to Muslim communities in Castellón during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, María del Carmen Barceló Torres has found something common to all: “el reconocimiento (por parte del grupo cristiano dominante) de una sociedad *distinta* que se seguirá rigiendo según los preceptos islámicos.” “L’Alfondeguilla y Castro. La situación de los mudéjares castellonenses en el siglo XIII,” *Bol. Soc. Cast. Cult.* 56 (1980), 126–139 (our emphasis).

in the entire kingdom of Valencia was a woman, a "metgessa mora."³⁵

The Jewish minority was in a somewhat less difficult situation during most of the fourteenth century, both socio-economically and culturally, and was more successful in obtaining entrance into the medical occupations. What was at issue, of course, was the possibility of practicing within the Christian community, since (as with Muslims) the authorities were not concerned to regulate Jews who limited themselves to caring for members of their own faith: in 1342 King Pere agreed with Astruga, wife of master Astruch of Barcelona, that because she practiced surgery only on other Jews she was not subject to the requirement that all practitioners undergo examination.³⁶ In spite of the fact that the *furs* required a medical degree, which made it legally impossible for either minority to practice medicine, it seems likely that some Jews were enabled to practice under another provision of the *furs*, one designed to verify the qualifications of those who were practicing medicine or surgery at the moment when the laws came into effect:

practitioners who are now practicing medicine or surgery shall be examined, and those who are found competent may remain in practice, but not the others, under a fine of 100 gold morabatins. . . .³⁷

Potentially, at least, this allowed for the continuation in practice of Jewish (and Muslim) physicians, even though they could not have acquired their training in a medical faculty.

As time went on, Jews continued to be allowed to practice medicine by meeting the requirement of an examination; nothing was usually said about academic studies. It is not clear whether in these cases a Jew was expected routinely to sit on the examining tribunal, but certainly this did sometimes happen. In May 1346 Pere IV granted the Jew Jaffudà Abenvives a license to practice medicine in the city and kingdom of Valencia, having had verification of his professional qualifications from an examination carried out by two of the royal physicians—Pere Ros d'Orsins, a Christian, and Alatzar Avinardut, a Jew.³⁸ Pere, although a Valencian, was not one of that year's municipal examiners, but the king commanded the examiners to accept his assessment of Jaffudà and ordered royal authorities throughout the kingdom to accept Jaffudà's qualifications and to offer no obstacles to his practice. Abenvives had to swear to fulfill not only all the medical provisions of

³⁵ Michael R. McVaugh, "Islamic Medicine in the Kingdom of Aragon in the Early Fourteenth Century," in Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Islamic Medicine; *Bulletin of Islamic Medicine* 3 (1984).

³⁶ ACA, Cancillería, reg. 873, fol. 160v (kals. Jul. 1342).

³⁷ Appendix 2, doc. 1.

³⁸ ACA, Cancillería, reg. 880, fol. 186v; published by López de Meneses, "Documentos culturales," pp. 682–684; doc. 16.

the 1329 *furs*, but also their requirement of academic study—"quod audiverat per spatium quatuor annorum vel ultra arte seu scientia medicine"³⁹—though the place and manner of such study was perhaps deliberately left vague.

Whether the form of Abenvives' examination—that is, by both a Christian and a Jewish physician—was routine in the 1340s,⁴⁰ by twenty years later it had become formally established throughout the Crown of Aragon. The *cortes* of Monzón of 1363 paid little attention to the problem of medical licensing except to ratify a particular method of professional examination for Jewish and Muslim physicians:

Jewish and Saracen physicians should be examined by physicians of their law or sect, if there are any, although one Christian physician should assist in their examination; and if there are no physicians of their law or sect, they should be examined by two Christian physicians; and once the examination is carried out, if they are found qualified, they must swear to practice well and loyally before they are admitted to practice.⁴¹

The provision may simply have been designed to legitimate a system that had gradually come into being, and it certainly did not ensure that all Jews practicing medicine after 1363 underwent examination.⁴²

What was legislated for Aragon or Catalonia did not necessarily affect the kingdom of Valencia, and despite the precedent of Abenvives' examination in 1346, despite the ruling of the *cortes* of Monzón, the municipality of Valencia does not seem to have included Jewish physicians on tribunals called to license other Jews to practice medicine. At

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 683.

⁴⁰ We have earlier testimony to the examination of Jewish physicians, in Barcelona as well as in Valencia, but they are always examined by Christian physicians. In Catalonia such examinations were routinely given by master Pere Gavet, "in artibus licentiatum et in scientia medicine professorem." He examined David Abrahe of Cervera in 1334 (ACA, Cancillería, reg. 576, fol. 62r; published by J. Rius Serra, "Més documents sobre la cultura catalana medieval," *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 13 [1928], 135–170; doc. 10, p. 140); Salomon Caravida of Copons in 1338 (ACA, Cancillería, reg. 863, fol. 231v); Rouen Caravida of sa Reyat in 1339 (ACA, Cancillería, reg. 604, fol. 103); and Mahir Caravida Çaporta of Barcelona in 1342 (ACA, Cancillería, reg. 873, fol. 139; published by Rubió y Lluh, *Documents*, I, pp. 123–124; doc. CXXI)—declaring the last-named qualified to practice surgery. In 1343 the *examinadors* of Valencia examined a Jewish physician whose name is not recorded: "Encara en la examinació de . j. metge de fehica (*sic*) juheu, fo acompanyat al dit maestre Bernat Ferrer, maestre Bertomeu de Casaldòria, metge de fehica (*sic*)" (AMV, Manuals de Consells, A-4, fol. 196r).

⁴¹ "Usatges y constitucions de Catalunya" (ACA, Generalitat, ms. 3, fol. 40); published by Rubió Balaguer, *Documentos*, pp. [45–46]; doc. 25.

⁴² For example, the infante Joan, finding himself in Vic on 1 August 1385, commanded an official of the court at Lérida that he should punish those Jews who were practicing medicine without having been examined: "infans Johannes etc. fideli nostro Petro Minoris, curie llerde . . . , quod de omnibus et singulis criminibus, et specialiter de delictis . . . medicorum judeorum non examinatum . . . , diligentissime inquiratis et . . . extingatis. . . ." ACA, Cancillería, reg. 1732, fol. 78v; Rubió Balaguer, *Documentos*, p. [73].

any rate, no member of that community figures in any of the licenses we have found granted to Jewish physicians or surgeons of the city. In Barcelona, on the other hand, a license of 1368 identifies the Jewish member of an examining tribunal convoked by Pere IV (the Valencian Humer Tauell), and adds that "other Jewish physicians were present."⁴³ Perhaps it should be emphasized that in both these cases where a Jewish physician was allowed to sit as an examiner (1346 and 1368) the license was authorized by royal rather than municipal authority. Does this imply a different attitude on the part of the king and of the Valencian municipality towards admitting Jews to practice medicine in the Christian community?

IV

The three cases we have just considered show us that the regulations of the *furs* of 1329 had very real social consequences. Curiously, however, another provision of the *furs* seems to have had no effect at all, the explicit statement that

no woman may practice medicine or give potions, under penalty of being whipped through the town; but they may care for little children, and women—to whom, however, they may give no potion.⁴⁴

The prohibition would seem to reflect what has been called "the supposedly natural subordination or inferiority, generally recognized both in canon law and scholastic theology, [that] women experienced in the legal system of James I"; a situation that manifested itself in "limitations or restrictions on their power in civil life."⁴⁵ Prior to the *furs* of 1329, in fact, there is very little direct testimony to the practice of medicine by women in the Crown of Aragon (except as unofficial *curanderas*). Yet what regulation there was seems to have envisaged sanctioning their practice as at least an abstract possibility; the ordinances of the town of Valls (1299 and 1319), like those of Jaume I for Montpellier (1272), exclude from practice anyone "who has not learned the science of medicine, be they man or woman, Christian, Jew, or

⁴³ "... presentibus aliis medicis judeis." ACA, Cancillería, reg. 946, fols. 195v–196v; published by Rubió Balaguer, *Documentos*, pp. [73], [75]; doc. 46. A. Cardoner Planas, "El médico judío Selomó Caravida y algunos aspectos de la medicina de su época," *Sefarad* 3 (1943), 377–392.

⁴⁴ "Alcuna fembra no ús de medicina, ne de dar bouratges, sotz pena de córrer la vila açotan, mas puxen pensar de infans pochs e de fembres, a les quals, emperò, no donen alcun bouratge." Appendix 2, doc. 1.

⁴⁵ P. López Elum and M. Rodrigo Lizondo, "La mujer en el código de Jaime I de los *Furs de Valencia*," in *Las mujeres medievales y su ámbito jurídico* (Madrid, 1983), p. 128.

Saracen."⁴⁶ This may have been a mere formalism, but it makes the much more general prohibition of 1329 seem unexpectedly severe.

The prohibition seems all the stranger when we discover that in the period *after* the *furs* there is much better evidence available of the practice of medicine by women in the Crown of Aragon. In 1334 the physicians of Barcelona defended a policy of forbidding anyone "of whatsoever law, status, sex, or condition . . . to practice the office of medicine" who had not passed an examination or received an academic training, and in the process they indicated that "many men *and women* in this city and its surroundings are taking patients under their care."⁴⁷ Four years later Pere IV noted the rumor that an unnamed woman was practicing surgery in Barcelona and was harming her patients by her incompetence; rather than forbid her practice outright, he ordered that she should be examined by "expert surgeons" who could test her skill.⁴⁸ In the kingdom of Valencia itself the evidence is even more concrete. Here the practice of women included activity in virtually all aspects of medicine: as midwives; as specialists in, for example, eye ailments; and as practitioners of general medicine and surgery, treating men as well as women. We have continuing documentation of this practice in Valencia from 1332, when a woman named Çahud is found practicing surgery in the royal household, until 1436, when the king granted a license to Peregrina, wife of Martí Navarro of Morella. The presence in the kingdom of Valencia for over a hundred years of *metgesses*—that is, women (almost all of whom were Muslim) practicing medicine as a more or less normal occupation, often without bothering to seek formal exemption from the *fur*—would seem to indicate that the prohibition of 1329 was essentially a dead letter.⁴⁹

How are we to interpret this contradiction between the *furs* and the medical reality? It may perhaps be useful to reformulate this as two associated problems: 1) what was the motive behind the enactment of the *fur*, and 2) why was it not enforced? Monica Green has recently suggested that the medical licensing introduced generally in the later Middle Ages was partially aimed at restricting or prohibiting the prac-

⁴⁶ "Encara an stablit et ordenat, que no sia null hom ni nuylla fembra, crestià o cristiana, jueu o juhya, sarray o sarraÿna, de qualque condició sia, qui no aja appresa sciència de medicina, qui gos donar a persona malauta metzina. . . ." F. Carreras y Candi, "Ordinacions urbanes de bon govern a Catalunya. Ordinacions de Vall (1299–1325)," *BRALB* 25 (1925), 201.

⁴⁷ "In dicta civitate et vicaria eiusdem nonnulli homines atque femine . . . recipiunt sub eorum curis aliquos patientes." Rubió Balaguer, *Documentos*, doc. 13, p. [19].

⁴⁸ ACA, Cancillería, reg. 594, fol. 23 (5 id. Jan. 1337/8). The woman was probably a Christian, for she was living in *platea Sancte Anne*, which lay well outside the Jewish quarter.

⁴⁹ A. López de Meneses, "Cinco catalanas licenciadas en medicina por Pedro el Ceremonioso (1374–1382)," *Correo Erudito* 5 (1957), 252–254; A. Cardoner Planas, "Seis mujeres hebreas practicando la medicina en el reino de Aragón," *Sefarad* 9 (1949), 441–445; idem, *Història de la Medicina a la Corona d'Aragó* (1162–1479) (Barcelona, 1973), pp. 103–104; Luis García Ballester, *Historia social de la medicina*, pp. 42–44.

tice of medicine by women.⁵⁰ But if this was the motive behind the ordinance of 1329, why are there no known attempts to implement it? Why do we continue to find women practicing with impunity in Valencia? And why was the activity of female practitioners in Barcelona, noted above, not met by a similar prohibition in Catalonia?

A possible answer emerges from the pattern observable in the few licenses known to have been awarded to Valencian *metgesses* in the fourteenth century. First, none received her license from local Valencian *examinadors* and the municipal *consell*; in every case it was granted by the king. We see again that, as his sympathetic policy towards Jewish physicians has already suggested, the monarch found it in his interest to interfere in the monopoly over medical control that the *furs* had nominally given to the municipal authorities. Second, most of the women seeking to practice were Muslims rather than Christians (or Jews). Together, these facts suggest that the prohibition of 1329 may have been a response to a regional phenomenon that was perceived as a cultural and religious threat rather than a professional one: the practice of medicine—perhaps particularly gynecology and obstetrics—by Muslim *metgesses*, within an expanding Christian society. For Muslim *metgesses* enjoyed real prestige, and their ability to penetrate into Christian families and practice generally within the Christian population (which was still very much in the minority in the kingdom of Valencia as a whole) was clearly a cause of concern to some in local authority. The hidden purpose of the *furs* may have been made explicit in 1338 when the *batle general* of Valencia, Arnau Çamorera, specifically forbade “any Saracen woman who acts as *metgessa* to women to bring a Christian woman into her house for treatment.”⁵¹

If this is the case, and the ordinance of 1329 was really aimed not so much at women in general as at Muslim women wishing to practice medicine, we can understand why it would not have been strictly enforced against Christians or Jews; but why were Muslims also allowed to practice, with or without a license? For practice medicine they certainly did, without any noticeable restrictions enforced by local government. In 1379 the *jurats* of Valencia, called to the house of Francesc Monyoç (an important figure in the city), found him attended by a Muslim *metgessa* who was treating his ailing hand and foot, as they mentioned in passing—casually, and perfectly naturally—in the letter they wrote to the governor of the kingdom.⁵² Again, in 1391 the mu-

⁵⁰ Monica Green, “Women’s Medical Practice and Health Care in Medieval Europe,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14 (1989), esp. 446–452.

⁵¹ “Que serrahina alcuna ques faça metgesa als dones no gos acollir en casa sua cristiana alcuna a metgar.” García Ballester, *Historia social de la medicina*, p. 42, n. 87.

⁵² The letter was sent to Olfo de Pròxida, governor of the kingdom of Valencia, on 5 September 1379: “E anam a.N Francesch Monyoç que anàs a vós per ço que vós poguéssets venir ací per usar de vostra e nostra comissió, e trobam aquell ab la mà e ab lo peu malalts, e la mora metjessa qui.l curava.” AMV, Lletres Missives, g3–4, fol. 110r-v; pub-

nicipality of Castellón agreed to request the presence of a Muslim *metgessa* specializing in the care of eye ailments, noting

that she had been only a short time in the town and had brought about marvelous cures of the eyes. . . . The *consell* said that if she came it would be thankful because of the good she would do.⁵³

There is no hint in such passages that the activity of such *metgesses* was anything but normal and unremarkable, the *furs* notwithstanding.

The simplest answer is probably the obvious one, that women—Muslims, Jews, or Christians—recognized as medically proficient were too valuable to exclude from practice. Those whom we find continuing to practice after the enactment of the *furs* were obviously not just midwives, with an exclusively gynecological clientele; indeed, significantly, they rarely appear in the treatment of women's ailments. Nor does it seem appropriate, socially, to view them as mere empiric healers or *curanderas*, for their occupational niche was acknowledged and supervised by those who controlled medical activity, the Valencian municipality and the king.⁵⁴ Whatever its original inspiration, the law of 1329 was unlikely to be enforced as long as competent women practitioners could be identified in a society where there were so few men qualified to practice medicine (or surgery) as to leave much of the public without the health care it wanted. If we now turn to look closely at the actual level of the practitioner population in fourteenth-century Valencia, we will see that it was indeed perceived as dangerously low.

lished by J. Sanchis Sivera, "La enseñanza en Valencia en la época foral," *Boletín Acad. Hist.* 108 (1937), 171.

⁵³ "Qui era ja estada poch temps havje en la dita vjla e havja fetes de grans cures de hulls . . . lo consell dix que sich venje que li fos fet plaer que fer li pusque per la bona obra que y fa." AMC, 4 July 1391; published by A. Sánchez Gosalbo, "La sanidad en el Castellón trecentista," *Bol. Soc. Cast. Cult.* 48 (1972), 246–274.

⁵⁴ We have testimony that in 1374 Floreta, a Jewish woman, received royal licence to practice in *arte medicina* throughout the territories of the Crown of Aragon: "Nos Petrus . . . quoniam fidedigna relatione percipimus quod tu, Floreta, uxor Jucefi Ça Noga, judei, quondam, habitantis in villa Santa Columba de Queralto, in arte medicina apta et suficiens es et propter tuam industriam et longam practicam in arte medicine uti per quevis loca regnorum et terrarum nostrarum . . . tibi plenam huius serie concedimus facultatem." A. López de Meneses, "Florilegio documental del reinado de Pedro IV de Aragón," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 17 (1952), 171. Cf. the licence granted in 1394 to Francisca, widow of Berenguer Sa Torra, cited by Teresa Maria Vinyoles, *Les barcelonines a les darreries de l'Edat Mitjana (1370–1410)* (Barcelona, 1976), pp. 45–48, 174–75.

IV. THE DEMOGRAPHIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE *FURS*

It may be possible to understand some further implications of the Valencian licenses we have identified if we introduce here some additional demographic information about the kingdom of Valencia, in particular about the number and distribution of medical practitioners active there in the fourteenth century. What the proportion of practitioners was to the population as a whole is almost impossible to say, for—except at certain instants of time, and then only for the capital and a few other towns—we have no figures that will allow us to determine the population of the kingdom of Valencia during the fourteenth century. It is even more hazardous to make quantitative judgments about the distribution of this population among Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Tentatively, however, we can estimate that the city had 30,000 inhabitants and the kingdom 200,000 or so, at least two-thirds of whom were Muslims and 5–10% Jews.¹

Fortunately we can provide somewhat more concrete information about the number of practitioners in the kingdom, based on several years' work in the Valencian and Aragonese archives and a thorough search of the secondary literature. Table I presents the numbers of individual physicians and surgeons whom we have so far identified as practicing in the kingdom in each quarter of the fourteenth century (subdividing the practitioners into Christians, Moors, and Jews); these

¹ The present state of research does not permit us to offer any more precise figures. According to the calculations of J. C. Russell ("The Medieval Monedatge of Aragon and Valencia," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 106 [1962], 502), the city's precincts held some 25,895 inhabitants in the period 1359–61. J. Hinojosa Montalvo estimates that the *jueria* of Valencia in the second half of the fourteenth century held 2,500 to 3,000 inhabitants, which would imply 10% of the total of the urban population. (Cf. "La comunidad hebrea de Valencia: del esplendor a la nada [1377–1391]," *Saitabi* 31 [1981], 66.) J. R. Magdalena Nom de Déu has found that the *jueria* of Castellón in 1371 had 27 inhabitants and has estimated that the Jewish population was "6 percent of the total of the town" ("Población, propiedades e impuestos de los judíos de Castellón de la Plana durante la Baja Edad Media," *Sefarad* 34 [1974], 274 and n. 8). As regards the fifteenth century, everything suggests that the Muslim population of the town of Castellón was almost double that of the Jews (idem, "Estructura socioeconómica de las aljamas castellonenses a finales del siglo XV," *Sefarad* 32 [1972], 341–370). The first trustworthy information for the city of Valencia is from 1489, when 8,840 hearths or homes were counted, without regard to their inhabitants: see A. Rubio Vela, "Sobre la población de Valencia en el Cuatrocientos. Nota demográfica," *Bol. Soc. Cast. Cult.* 56 (1980), 158–170.

TABLE I

PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS ACTIVE IN VALENCIA, 1300–1400

	physicians			surgeons		
	C	J	M	C	J	M
1300–1325	21	5	0	18	1	0
1326–1350	35	8	1	16	0	2
1351–1375	37	4	0	12	2	0
1376–1400	48	8	3	37	0	1

numbers, therefore, are minima. The great majority of these practitioners were associated with the great urban nucleus of Valencia and its surroundings.

Finding evidence of so many physicians and surgeons actually practicing in Valencia makes it something of a surprise to have discovered so few municipal (as distinct from royal) licenses in the fourteenth-century Valencian documentation. This small number of licenses that have surfaced from the first seventy years after the promulgation of the *furs* seems to indicate that licensing was not a necessary prerequisite to practice, as a professional diploma or degree is today. The formal license may have been issued under circumstances that are impossible to understand with the information presently available to us. It may have been a hurdle that was invoked in a variety of circumstances—by municipal or royal authority, by physicians, or by individuals—but that was not automatically required in order to practice; otherwise the threat of examination would not have been such a useful weapon for personal enemies or professional competitors.² Indeed, in practically all the licenses we have collected, whether those issued by the municipality in conformity with the *furs* or those granted directly by the king, it is more or less expressly indicated that those who had submitted to questioning by the *examinadors* had already been practicing before presenting themselves for examination. This suggests that perhaps those who submitted to the provision of the *furs* were in some way forced to do so, which could help explain the striking differences between Tables I and II. The data in Table I are also consistent with our earlier conclusion that whatever healers practiced within the Valencian Muslim majority must have done so outside normal channels;

² For invocation by personal enemies, see the case of Jacme Lama, above, p. 24 n. 25. For invocation by professional competitors, consider the case of Ramon Bonet, a surgeon who was lured from Tarrega (in Catalonia) to Morella (in Valencia) by the *universitas* of the latter town in 1344. He began a successful practice there that cut into the livelihood of another Morellan surgeon, Guillem Ça Selva, who thereupon, “plus inducta invidia quam alia ratione, acusavit dictum Raimundum . . . dicendo ipsum in nonnullas penas incidisse eo quia sine examinatione usus fuerit arte predicta.” The document is cited above, p. 21, n. 9.

TABLE II

LICENSES GRANTED TO VALENCIAN PHYSICIANS
AND SURGEONS, 1375–1400

physicians			surgeons		
C	J	M	C	J	M
2	6	0	18	1	1

their practice was simply ignored by the machinery of control. Only in isolated cases—arising from the confrontation of cultures (as when, for example, Muslim healers were formally accused of conjuration in offering prognoses),³ or from the fame of a particularly successful individual summoned to care for the court, a town,⁴ or a hospital⁵—do such practitioners make an appearance in the archival materials.

It is not easy to reconcile this apparently inconsistent application of the *furs* with the vigorous terms in which the Valencian authorities regularly denounced unlicensed practice in the city and kingdom.⁶ The subject was sensitive enough that despite the liberal policy that (as we have seen) the Aragonese monarchs generally followed in this regard, the king himself occasionally refused to grant licenses to practice, recognizing explicitly “that according to the new *furs* of Valencia all physicians are prohibited from practicing that craft in the city and kingdom of Valencia before they have been examined.”⁷ If the city really did care about licensing physicians, why have not more licenses survived? There are many other questions, too, to which we would like to have answers. What happened to those who sought a license and were rejected for having failed one requirement or another of the

³ The same accusation was prominent in the inquisitorial investigation of the Muslim healers of Valencia in the sixteenth century: Luis García Ballester, *Los moriscos y la medicina* (Barcelona, 1984).

⁴ On this subject see Luis García Ballester, *Historia social de la medicina*, pp. 42–45 (and references there).

⁵ Cf. the admiring tone of the writer who recorded the payment to a Muslim *metgessa* for her successful care: “Item foren dats a l^a. mora que la guarí de la melsa, que tenia en lo vent gros, que lo metge de l’espital no la podia guarir, e la mora guarí-lla: III sous.” Agustín Rubio Vela, *Pobreza, enfermedad y asistencia hospitalaria en la Valencia del siglo XIV* (Valencia, 1984), p. 125. In the sixteenth century Christian institutions (and individuals) continued to apply to Moorish healers when their own physicians failed them; cf. Luis García Ballester, *Los moriscos y la medicina*, pp. 108ff.

⁶ For example, in the denunciation of a Muslim physician dated 13 March 1342: “. . . tam in civitate Valencie quam in . . . locis aliis regni Valencie arte medicine quamvis examinatus non fuerit in dicta arte, ut fieri debet iuxta forum.” ACA, Cancillería, reg. 619, fol. 10r; reprinted by A. Rubió y Lluç, *Documents per l’història de la cultura catalana mig-èval*, II, 67; #67.

⁷ “. . . Attendentes quod per foros novos Valentie omnes medici ab exercendo (in civitate et regno Valentie) eodem officio donec examinati fuerint prohibentur.” ACA, Cancillería, reg. 863, fol. 161r.

examination? Was it possible to apply for a license repeatedly until successful? Did those who had been denied a license continue to practice illegally until another complaint was made against them, or did they shift their practice to a new locale in which they were unknown? None of these problems can yet be resolved on the basis of the existing documentation.

The additional demographic information available from archival sources can also help us to understand the otherwise unexpected pattern by which municipal supervision of medical care was extended to the lesser health occupations during the fourteenth century. The Valencian *furs* of 1329 had already extended the requirement of examination beyond physicians and surgeons to one of these lesser occupations: "a barber may not practice medicine or surgery if he has not been examined by the medical examiners and found adequate."⁸ This requirement was peculiar to the kingdom of Valencia and was maintained throughout the fourteenth century;⁹ it was undoubtedly one of the elements in the social dynamic responsible for the professional conflict between the barbers and surgeons of Valencia that became especially acute during the fifteenth century.¹⁰ In contrast, in none of the laws applying to the Crown of Aragon as a whole are barbers mentioned, neither in the *cortes* of Monzón of 1289 nor in the later *corts* of Cervera (1359) or Monzón (1363). Indeed, not even surgeons are referred to explicitly in the *furs* after the Cerveran *corts*. Pere IV noted this in 1384, while rebuking his son, the infante Joan, for his excessive zeal in punishing Arnau and Bernat Oliva, two barbers of Perpinyà, for having practiced surgery without having passed a professional examination: he remarked in passing that in Catalonia it was not the custom to examine barbers who practiced surgery: "for the provision stating that physicians who practice must be examined does not mention surgeons, or at least in Catalonia it is not the custom that barbers who routinely practice surgery be examined."¹¹ The reason why barbers were included in Valencian legislation that purported to control the practice of medicine and surgery can only be that in the 1320s barbers were there perceived as performing the tasks of physicians and

⁸ Below, Appendix 2, doc. 1.

⁹ There is however no documentary evidence of the examination of a barber wishing to practice surgery in Valencia until 1388; Appendix 2, doc. 13.

¹⁰ M. Gallent Marco, "Profesionalización y control del personal médico en el siglo XV," *Saitabi* 23 (1983), 97–103. The process discussed by this author really belongs to the fourteenth rather than the fifteenth century.

¹¹ "Car la constitució que parle que ls metges hajan ésser examinats ans que usen de lur art, no comprèn cirurgians, o almenys no és acostumat en Cathalunya los barbers qui comunament usen de cirugia ésser examinats." ACA, Cancillería, reg. 1288, ff. 19v–20; reprinted by J. Rubió Balaguer, *Documentos*, p. [73]. Surgeons are also found excluded from provisions for professional control in Montpellier in 1239: "ut nullus de cetero praticari [medicina] presumat, nisi prius examinatus fuerit a duobus magistris . . . exceptis chirurgicis, quos huic nolumus examini subiacere." A. Germain, *Cartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier*, I, 186; doc. 4.

TABLE III

HEALTH PRACTITIONERS IN BARCELONA
AND VALENCIA, 1325-1334

	physicians		surgeons		apoth's		barbers		total	
	B	V	B	V	B	V	B	V	B	V
1325	3	13	14	12	30	17	7	18	54	60
1326	6	12	11	13	30	17	7	17	54	59
1327	5	12	12	12	27	17	10	17	54	58
1328	8	11	11	11	26	16	9	17	54	55
1329	6	12	11	10	25	18	10	16	52	56
1330	7	12	12	9	24	16	10	16	53	53
1331	7	12	10	10	22	19	10	17	50	58
1332	6	12	9	11	23	18	10	19	47	60
1333	9	11	10	12	23	24	11	19	53	66
1334	8	11	7	9	23	18	11	16	49	54

surgeons, and hence as providing health care to a significant portion of the population.

The Catalan and Valencian archives allow us to assess the number of health professionals on a year-by-year basis in the two great cities, Barcelona and Valencia, during the period 1325-1334 that encompassed the promulgation of the *furs*, data presented in Table III. If we consider the barbers, the first thing to strike the attention is how many more there were in Valencia, both proportionately and absolutely: they made up almost a third of the practitioners, being far more numerous than the surgeons and roughly equal to the physicians or apothecaries. Leaving aside the latter (because although apothecaries could also carry out medical tasks, they were not yet covered by the *furs*), barbers amounted to almost half of the health practitioners legally recognized as performing a medical role in the city of Valencia. And the almost equal numbers of physicians and barbers in 1325-1334 would tip in favor of the barbers by 1347, a year before the Black Death, when there were but 12 physicians practicing as against 31 barbers, so that the legislation does not seem to have limited the growth of the barber population in Valencia.

The relative importance of the barbers within the practitioner populations of Valencia and Barcelona shows that at the moment when the *furs* went into effect barbers played a much larger role in Valencia than in Barcelona and were perceived as requiring examination or control. On the other hand, the city of Barcelona may have grown stricter in its supervision of barbers practicing surgery, at least by the end of the fourteenth century. In April 1386 Pere IV granted a license to practice surgery to Bernat Bertomeu, a barber of Barcelona, but added that he would have to undergo an examination "if the city councilors required

it."¹² It may be that the demographic features we have already discussed influenced the attitude of the *consell*. Certainly by the end of the century the distribution of health professionals had changed in Barcelona as it had in Valencia, and so had the social role of the barber.¹³

By 1350 apothecaries as well as barbers were being publicly perceived as having an important role as health providers. In the aftermath of the Black Death of 1348 there was a growth of irregular practice in Valencia, and the municipal *consell* reacted firmly against what appeared to them to be a consequent lowering of standards. The councilors expressed their alarm in their session of 5 November 1350: "since some physicians and apothecaries have recently appeared in the city and are practicing their craft without being examined as the *furs* require, they should be so examined."¹⁴ It was important to bring this irregularity to an end "because it is dangerous for them to practice without such an examination, and furthermore apothecaries may sometimes give one herb or one substance [by mistake] instead of another because they do not know or understand the said herbs or medicinal substances."¹⁵ The municipal government resolved "that the said physicians active in the city be examined, as is ordained and established by the *furs*,"¹⁶ and also provided for "two apothecaries who will examine the said [new] apothecaries as best they can"¹⁷ under the supervision of the *examinadors*: "The *consell* also ordains that apothecaries be examined by the *examinadors* of physicians, joined by two apothecaries knowledgeable in the art."¹⁸ Their motive was the public

¹² ". . . Hoc tamen proviso quod si consilarii civitatis Barchinone, aut alii nomine ipsorum, requisiverint seu instanciam fecerint pro predictis, quod vos iuxta mentem dictarum constitutionem huiusmodi examen subeatis, quodque id facere et complere teneamini infra duos menses postquam inde fueritis requisitus." ACA, Cancillería, reg. 947, fol. 32v–33; reprinted by J. Rubió Balaguer, *Documentos*, p. [77]; doc. 47.

¹³ Our treatment here of the precocious development of the Valencian barbers has been given greater amplification in Luis García Ballester and Michael R. McVaugh, "Nota sobre el control de la actividad médica y quirúrgica de los barberos (*barbers, barbitioneros*) en los *furs* de Valencia de 1329," *Homenatge al Doctor Sebastià García Martínez* (Valencia, 1988), I, 73–88.

¹⁴ ". . . Com alguns metges e speciés novellament sien en la ciutat e pratiquen de lurs arts sens que no són examinats, segons qu'és fur los dits metges deuen ésser examinats." Appendix 2, doc. 3; cf. A. Rubio Vela, *Peste negra, crisis* . . . , p. 74.

¹⁵ "Com sie cosa perillosa aquells usar o pratichar sens la dita examinació, e semblantment los dits speciés s'entrameten a les vegades donar .I. erba per altra, o una cosa per altra, per tal com no són sabents ni conexents les dites erbes o les coses medecinals." Ibid.

¹⁶ ". . . Que ls dits metges ussants en la dita ciutat fossen examinats, segons que per fur és ordenat e stablit." Ibid.

¹⁷ "Et axí meteix .II. speciayres qui examinassen los dits speciés segons que mills puxen." Ibid.

¹⁸ "Encara ordenà e volch lo dit consell que los speciés fossen examinats per los dits examinadors de metges ensemps ab .II. speciés sabents bé de l'art." Ibid. The *consell* named as examiners for the year masters Miró de Corçà and Bernat Minguet, together with En Jacme Metge; it also decreed that together with the two knowledgeable *speciers*

health—"a pprofit e utilitat de la cosa pública"—for the Black Death seems widely to have reinforced the sense that health was a definite responsibility of municipal authorities. Evidently the upheaval produced by the plague of 1348 set in motion a broadening of medical supervision to include all the health occupations, completing a process foreshadowed by the *furs* of 1329.

This broader control of the medical occupations was soon felt throughout the kingdom: in 1355 Pere IV had to intervene to protect the Valencian apothecary Guillem Caner, accused of practicing medicine illegally in that he had not fulfilled the four years of study required by the *furs*.¹⁹ Another apparent consequence of the upheaval of the 1350s was the appearance of demands by the examiners for a fee from candidates for a license, a practice complained of as early as 1351.²⁰ In the Valencian *furs* of 1403 King Martí I confirmed the municipal control of the apothecaries, and took action to prevent the imposition of fees by the *examinadors*.²¹ When in 1441 the apothecaries established themselves as a guild they accepted their supervision by physicians, with the assurance that the two apothecaries on the tribunal would be elected annually by their own body rather than by the *consell*.²²

Evidently the 1350s and the aftermath of the Black Death mark a moment of medical disintegration in Valencia. We have noted the reaction of municipal authorities to this disintegration, but there was also a response from the physicians and surgeons who were already qualified *secundum formam fori Valentie*. There is reason to think that, from this moment on, the Valencian physicians began to develop a professional cohesion and to assume a directing role in the scrutiny of would-be practitioners—a role that in the 1330s had been solely held

they should examine the apothecaries, and that two *jurats* should be present at the examinations in order "to determine those who are unqualified" so as to prevent them from practicing the craft in the city or kingdom.

¹⁹ A. López de Meneses, "Documentos culturales," pp. 694–696; docs. 30–31.

²⁰ The complaint, by a Jewish physician of Alzira, is published by López de Meneses, "Documentos culturales," p. 690; doc. 25. However, it may be that this abuse was an inveterate one, dating back almost to the moment when the examination system went into effect. A surgeon of Mallorca, Samuel Içach, complained to the king in 1339 that "ipse intendat habitare in regno Valencie et uti officio chirurgie et propterea requisiverit ut asserit deputatos ad examinandum chirurgicos ut iuxta forum Valencie per examinationem accipiant ab eodem, hocque dicti deputati facere contradicant;" and that this had happened three or four times. The king's (favorable) response to the complaint does not specify the reason for the examiners' refusal, but it is plausible that (as in the Alzira case) they had demanded a fee that the candidate was unwilling to pay. ACA, Cancillería, reg. 598, fol. 227r–v (8 kals. Feb. 1338/9).

²¹ "Los examinadors dels metges, elets segons forma de fur, no reeben alcun salari, do ne servey per examinar alguns metges de física o de sirurgia o barbers ne de examinació de speciers. E si lo contrari faran, sien encorreguts en pena de deu morabatins per quantes vegades contrafaran." *Furs e Ordinacions . . . del Regne de Valencia* (facsimile ed., Valencia, 1978), p. [380].

²² F. Barberà, *Códice del antiguo colegio de boticarios de Valencia* (Valencia, 1905), p. 8.

by the municipal bourgeoisie. We may remember that in 1334 in Barcelona, in a similar situation—that is, in response to an intrusion of unqualified “healers”—, physicians had taken the lead in protesting such an invasion. Now in 1356 the physicians of Valencia also arrogated to themselves alone the title of “*medicus*” and denounced its usurpation by those who practiced medicine without abiding by the *furs*, reiterating their content: no one shall practice in the city or kingdom “*nisi prius per quatuor annos audiverit in studio generali et postmodum examinatus fuerit et repertus sufficiens per examinatores ordinatos in civitate predicta.*”²³ In Valencia, as earlier in Barcelona, physicians were addressing the king as a cohesive social group and asking for action against the unauthorized practice. The original leadership of the city government in this protest is undeniable, but it is important too to recognize that the Valencian physicians were beginning to show signs of acknowledging their collective identity and self-interest by the second half of the fourteenth century.

²³ ACA, Cancillería, reg. 690, fols. 69v–70; published by A. López de Meneses, “Documentos culturales . . .,” pp. 700–701; doc. 37. We will look more closely at this document later, for it is of particular importance for an understanding of the tensions between king and town over control of the medical occupations.

V. THE PRESSURES FOR MEDICAL SUPERVISION IN VALENCIA

I

How are we to explain the promulgation of a specific licensing code for Valencia in 1329, and the extent to which it was implemented there? We may conveniently begin by considering the role of educational and ecclesiastical institutions in shaping the activity of its physicians. The absence of controls over the practice of medicine in thirteenth-century Valencia was perhaps rooted in the Muslim model for the transmission of knowledge,¹ in which anyone could give instruction; but it had been formally established by the original Valencian *furs* of Jaume I (1238), which affirmed explicitly that "any cleric or other man may freely and without service or tribute teach medicine anywhere in the city."² The change in attitude was initiated by the founding in 1300 of the University of Lérida, by which Jaume II introduced into his realms the educational revolution associated with the medieval universities.³ This gave Lérida the monopoly on higher education (including medicine) in the Crown of Aragon,⁴ explicitly applying the university model adopted in Sicily in 1224 by the emperor Frederic II.⁵ There were thus two kinds of medical practitioners in the Crown of Aragon (and hence in Valencia) in the early fourteenth century: those who had acquired their medical knowledge more or less informally, and those who had been trained in a faculty of medicine and might possess a university degree (bachelor, licenciante, or master). It was quite natural to proceed to demand a university degree for the practice of medicine,⁶ eliminat-

¹ Cf. Luis García Ballester, *Historia social de la medicina*, p. 24.

² "Tot clergue o altre hom pusque francament e sens tot servi e tribut tener estudi . . . de física . . . en tot loch per tota la ciutat." *Furs e Ordinacions . . . del Regne de Valencia* (facsimile ed., Valencia, 1978), p. [189].

³ H. Rashdall, F. M. Powicke, A. B. Emden, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1936), II, 93.

⁴ "Nulla persona cuiuscumque prehemencie, dignitatibus, condicionis, statibus aut legis existat tam auidax reperiatur quod in aliquo loco terre et dominationis nostre . . . libros medicine . . . audeat vel presumat aliquibus scholaribus legere vel docere. . . ." A. Rubió y Lluch, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-eva*, I (Barcelona, 1908), p. 15, doc. xv.

⁵ Rashdall, *Universities*, II, 93.

⁶ "Thus one of the purposes of the university was to initiate the professional into a set of attitudes and controls, to give him a professional conscience, and to develop a feeling of group solidarity." V. L. Bullough, "Achievement, Professionalization, and the Univer-

ing this two-fold route into practice, and this step was taken by the new *furs* of Jaume's son Alfons IV.

The founding of the new university at Lérida was in effect a "Christianizing" act, for it gave special recognition to Christians, who alone were entitled to pursue studies there and to receive its degrees. By the same token, it tended to weaken the importance of the freedom of teaching traditional within the Muslim and Jewish communities.⁷ The *furs* of 1329 merely consolidated this cleavage between the religions: it was "Jews, Saracens, and apostates" who were attacked with such contempt in 1356 by Valencian physicians and surgeons licensed *secundum formam fori Valentie*.⁸ The new *furs* may thus be interpreted in part as an attempt to make medicine an essentially Christian activity, and to weaken the socio-cultural importance hitherto enjoyed by Jews and Muslims, who made up the overwhelming majority of the kingdom's population.

The *furs* further provided for the "Christianization" of medicine by insisting that physicians and surgeons summon a confessor before treating the gravely ill, or at least warn the patient of his need for confession. In this respect the condition was one long required by the church, for (as Tentler has emphasized)⁹ the sacrament of confession could be an effective instrument of social control. The *furs* drew specifically from canon 22 (*Cum infirmitas*) of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which declared that physicians should advise and persuade—"moneant et inducant"—their patients to confess.¹⁰ The conflict between the interest of the physician for the health of the body and that of the priest for the health of the soul was of concern to the church

sity," in J. Ijsewijn and J. Paquet, eds., *The Universities in the Later Middle Ages* (Louvain, 1978), p. 508.

⁷ Cf. L. Barthélémy, *Les médecins à Marseille avant et pendant le Moyen-Age* (Marseille, 1883), pp. 13–14 and pièces no. 1 (28 August 1326) and 2 (19 September 1443), pp. 31–32.

⁸ A. López de Meneses, "Documentos culturales," p. 701, doc. 37.

⁹ T. N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, 1977), p. xv.

¹⁰ "XXII. Quod infirmi prius provideant anima quam corpori. Cum infirmitas corporalis nonnunquam ex peccato proveniat, dicente Domino languido quem sanaverat: 'Vade et amplius noli peccare, ne deterius aliquid tibi contingat': decreto presenti statuimus, et districte praecipimus medicis corporum, ut cum eos ad infirmos vocari contigerit, ipsos ante omnia moneant et inducant, quod medicos advocent animarum: ut postquam infirmis fuerit de spirituali salute provisum, ad corporalis medicinae remedium salubrius procedatur, cum causa cessante cesset effectus. . . . Si quis autem medicorum, hujus nostrae constitutionis, postquam per praelatos locorum fuerit publicata, transgressor extiterit, tamdiu ab ingressu ecclesiae arceatur, donec pro transgressione hujusmodi satisfecerit competenter.

"Caeterum cum anima sit multo pretiosior corpore, sub interminatione anathematis prohibemus, ne quis medicorum pro corporali salute aliquid aegroto suadeat, quod in periculum animae convertatur." J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova amplissima collectio* (repr. Graz, 1960–62), v. 22, cols. 1010–11. The position of canon law is expressed in the *Decretales* of Gregory IX (lib. V, tit. 38, cap. 13) in the following terms: "Medici, vocati ad infirmos, debent ante omnia inducere infirmum ad confessionem, nec quicquam persuadere pro salute corporis, tendens in animarum periculum [idem in eodem (concilio generali)]." E. Friedberg, ed., *Corpus Juris Canonici* (repr. Graz, 1959), II, col. 888.

generally,¹¹ but it had particular relevance to the predominantly Muslim society of Valencia, where originally there were virtually no Christian physicians available; no doubt for this reason, the confessional injunction of canon law had already been firmly insisted upon by the original Valencian *furs* of 1238.¹² The reiteration of this injunction in the "new *furs*" ninety years later shows that this tension had not disappeared with time; so does the warning of the Valencian St. Vicent Ferrer (1350–1419), at the end of the fourteenth century:

Morally, when a physician takes a man under his care, he must first get him to confess; he is required to do this by the decretal "Mandamus etc.," and sins mortally if he does not do so.¹³

In one final respect the impact of institutional Christianity upon the shaping of the practitioner needs to be emphasized. As we have just seen, the thirteenth-century formulation of canon law stressed the need for physicians to require their patients to confess. More broadly, in such collections as the *Decretales* of Gregory IX (1234), it established the norm of annual confession under penalty of excommunication, and encouraged confessors to investigate the circumstances and characteristics of the sinner and his sin. This and other recommendations gave rise in following years to a religious literature that was practical in nature, intended to train confessors and help them in the various problems presented to them by an increasingly complex and changing society. These guides or manuals, *Summae confessorum*,¹⁴ insisted that confession should examine every aspect of daily life. Nothing was to fall outside the scope of confession, from the most intimate details of domestic life to those of economic and social activity—including that of physicians.

One such guide was the *Summa de casibus conscientiae* (c. 1317), usually cited as *Astesana*,¹⁵ which expressly emphasized the sinfulness of the physician "who claims to practice his profession without a knowledge of medical science (*cum sit idiota*),"¹⁶ and described such ignorance as a *culpa ante factum*. The *Astesana* went on to develop a

¹¹ Cf. D. W. Amundsen, "Casuistry and Professional Obligations: The Regulation of Physicians by the Court of Conscience in the Late Middle Ages," *Trans. and Stud. Coll. Phys. Philadelphia* 3 (1981), 22–39, 93–112, and bibliography in n. 73.

¹² "Negun metge no reeba alcú o alcuna que sie greument malalt o malalta en cura, si donchs primerament lo malalt no haurà presa penitència." *Furs e Ordinations*, loc. cit.

¹³ "... Moralment, que quan lo metge deu pendre en cura hun hom, *primo* lo deu confessar; e són-o tenguts fer, car axí.u diu la decretal *Mandamus*, etc., e per ço pecque mortalment si fa lo contrari." Sant Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons*, ed. J. Sanchis Sivera, I (Barcelona, 1932), 209.

¹⁴ Amundsen, "Casuistry," pp. 28ff.

¹⁵ *Astesanus de Asti, Summa de casibus conscientiae* (Venice, 1478); cited by Amundsen, p. 25.

¹⁶ *Astesana*, 6.14, following Amundsen, p. 29 n. 27.

distinction that reinforced still further the need for an adequate apprenticeship for the professional physician (a training that, given the terminology used, could only take place in the new university contexts): a distinction between the *culpa in facto*, "when the physician does not follow the established practices of the *ars* and attempts risky procedures," and the *culpa post factum* when, properly trained and having acted responsibly, "he does not follow up the patient's case diligently."¹⁷ The *culpa ante factum* would be evoked later in the century by the Franciscan Eiximenis (a Catalan living in Valencia) in his condemnation of those who practice medicine without adequate knowledge, whom he views as murderers if their practice leads to a patient's death:

Fourth, it is homicide if someone kills another, for example someone who stupidly throws a stone from a high place, or who attaches the clapper of a bell insecurely which, falling, kills someone; or who declares himself to be a physician and, without knowing the art, gives medicines or advice which cause the patient to die.¹⁸

The church was thus portraying a full and systematic education as not merely practically desirable but morally imperative for the physician, and in this way it implicitly supported the demands of civil authorities (municipalities or king) for specialized training of would-be practitioners.

II

The royal family was by no means indifferent to the nature and availability of medical care in the Crown of Aragon. In particular, Jaime II—who died in November 1327, only two years before the Valencian *furs* were issued—had been a visible patron of medicine, especially of learned medicine, during his long reign of thirty-six years.¹⁹ This patronage manifested itself at a number of different levels of royal activity, certainly within the court but also more widely within the kingdom, and may very well have contributed to the atmosphere of belief and expectation that underlay the new legislation.

¹⁷ *Astesana*, 6.16 and 6.14; Amundsen, p. 30.

¹⁸ Francesc Eiximenis, *Lo libre de les dones*, ed. F. Naccarato (Barcelona, 1981), II, 306.

¹⁹ "La verdadera passió de tota sa vida fou la medicina"; Rubió y Lluch, *Documents*, II (Barcelona, 1921), p. xxxi. At the moment, the best discussion of the king's concern for medicine is that of J. Ernesto Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón: Su vida familiar* (Barcelona, 1948), I, 54–63 and elsewhere; one of us is preparing a fuller study of this subject.

For one thing, from the moment Jaume succeeded to the throne he displayed a preoccupation with his health and with keeping medical care continually available to him—and, in lesser degree, to his family. He kept at least one and usually two physicians in ordinary throughout his reign, and if in his travels through his realms he felt ill he would supplement their care with physicians from the immediate region in which he found himself.²⁰ The supply of physicians was so scant, however, and the rewards available to entice them to stay with him so slim, that he was not able to achieve a permanent medical staff until 1306; from that time on he was served by the same two physicians, Joan Amell and Martí de Calça Roja.²¹ This medical staff was expanded, as time went on, to include physicians responsible for his family's care; as his children grew up, he appointed physicians to serve each of them, as Guillem de Carcassonne served Jaume's daughter Constança from 1307 to 1315, or as Pere Cellerer served four of the children between 1316 and 1334.²² Such physicians were typically "on call"; they lived and practiced in Valencia (like Guillem) or Daroca (like Pere), but they enjoyed a supplement to their income in the form of a retainer from the king, and in turn they were expected to come attend the infantes whenever necessary. In this way the royal concern for family health both directly and indirectly ensured a certain growth in the level of health manpower in the kingdom, and in order to ensure a larger pool of practitioners to fill this role, the king routinely did his best to entice foreign physicians and surgeons to move into his lands—not necessarily to enter into his own employment, but to settle and practice among his subjects.

The king was not, however, unconcerned about the type of medicine that such practitioners carried on; he was in particular a patron of learned academic medicine rather than of mere empirical skill. As a young man, Jaume had had first-hand experience of a system requiring the qualification of physicians on the island of Sicily, first as his father's lieutenant and then as ruler there (1283–1291); it is difficult not to believe that his continuing associations with southern Italy (in 1295 he married the daughter of Charles II of Anjou, king of Naples) helped

²⁰ When the king fell ill in Jaca in June–July 1302, for example, he called no fewer than nine physicians to attend him, from Huesca, Zaragoza, Lérida, and Pamplona: Eduardo González Hurtebise, *Libros de Tesorería de la Casa Real de Aragón*, I (Barcelona, 1911), 56–57, 61–62.

²¹ The appointment of Martí goes back to the end of 1304 (ACA, Cancillería, reg. 235, fol. 144); that of Joan is published by Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, II, 22 (doc. 36).

²² The letter of Guillem's appointment is published by Martínez Ferrando, II, 30 (doc. 50); see also pp. 115–116 (doc. 170). Pere cared for the infante Jaume in 1316, Maria in 1320, Joan in 1321–1334, and Constança in 1326. On Pere's relation to Arnau, see the information provided by John F. Benton, "The birthplace of Arnau de Vilanova," *Viator* 13 (1982), 245–57. A full study of the archival material pertaining to Pere is in preparation.

shape his policy of support for academic medicine. Jaume's creation of a university at Lérida was expressly designed to make his new realm self-sufficient in medical and legal training.²³ He saw to it thereafter that his household physicians were supplied with copies of scholastic medical texts as needed, and he subsidized the translations of still others from Latin into Catalan (for example, the *Tasrif* of Abulcasis²⁴).

For a variety of reasons, Jaume found Arnau de Vilanova the embodiment of what learned medicine could offer. Arnau was Valencian by culture, academically trained, the translator of medical works from the Arabic, and the author of a vast range of knowledgeable medical treatises; his skill was acknowledged by his colleagues, who would even refuse to treat a case before Arnau had arrived to give advice. Unable to persuade Arnau to return permanently to the Crown of Aragon, Jaume settled for repeated short visits and for consultation, as it were, at a distance, via medical writings. About 1307 Arnau composed for the king a *Regimen sanitatis*, largely traditional in form but personalized to the extent of adding a final chapter on hemorrhoids that responded to the king's own concerns; at the queen's request, the surgeon Berenguer çà Riera translated Arnau's work into Catalan.²⁵ The next year Jaume wrote to Arnau asking for a copy of his *chef d'oeuvre*, the *Speculum medicine*, promising him to show it to no one "*nisi eum cui volueritis*."²⁶ And the year after that, Arnau visited Jaume at the siege of Almería and presented him with a unique little treatise on military hygiene for the army's use—trying (unsuccessfully, as it proved) to ingratiate himself with the monarch against the day when Jaume would learn of Arnau's recent tales to the pope of the king's religious beliefs.²⁷ Jaume was enraged at Arnau when he did learn of these, the next year, and Arnau never returned to Aragon, dying in 1311.

It is characteristic of Jaume's commitment to scholastic medicine that shortly before Arnau's death he should have sought out Arnau's disciple, Pere Cellerer, and begun to make use of him in caring for the royal family²⁸—Arnau's learning was too valuable to neglect, even in his disgrace. We should certainly understand the king's personal involvement during these years in the establishment and direction of the medical faculty at his new university of Lérida in the light of this same

²³ See the text published by Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, XVI (Madrid, 1851), 196.

²⁴ Rubió y Lluch, *Documents*, II, 22 (doc. 29); A. Cardoner Planas, "Nuevos datos acerca de Jafuda Bonsenyor," *Sefarad* 4 (1944), 287–93.

²⁵ Ana Trias Teixidor is preparing an edition of the Latin text for vol. VII of the *Arnaldi de Villanova Opera Medica Omnia*.

²⁶ Heinrich Finke, *Acta Aragonensia* (Berlin, 1908), II, 876–878 (docs. 554–555).

²⁷ An edition of this text, known in sixteenth-century editions as the *Tractatus de regimine castra sequentium*, will be included in vol. VII of the *Arnaldian Opera Medica Omnia*.

²⁸ ACA, Real Patrimonio, reg. 273, fol. 56v.

commitment; and we should probably acknowledge that his obviously high valuation of medical learning, communicated to his son and heir Alfons IV, helped to form a climate of expectation that his subjects had come to share by the time of his death in 1327.

III

There were political as well as personal reasons for the fourteenth-century kings of Aragon to have taken a direct interest in the supervision of medical care in their realms, as evidenced by the continuing struggle between the king and the municipality of Valencia over the power to license physicians. Although the *furs* of 1329 had made it explicit that control of the medical profession lay in the hands of the municipal *consell*, the monarchs tried increasingly to assert their own authority in this area. At the beginning of Pere IV's reign he seemed ready to acknowledge the city's prerogative. We have already remarked upon his response in 1338 to Hamet Hatequia, who had appealed directly to him for permission to practice medicine in the city and kingdom of Valencia: Pere had refused to grant such permission, explaining that the new *furs* gave this power to the municipal *examinadors*. Yet six months later Pere showed that he was fully prepared to override the new *furs* when he responded quite differently to a comparable request. Thomas Gallesii assured the king in August 1338 that he had practiced surgery successfully in Zaragoza and Lérida for more than twenty-five years and now wanted to continue his practice in Valencia; Pere thereupon granted Thomas the right "to exercise the art of surgery in the city and kingdom of Valencia freely and without any sort of examination or obstacle, notwithstanding the *fur* of Valencia which says that practitioners (*medici*) must be examined before they begin to practice any sort of medicine."²⁹ Again, as we have already seen in another context, Pere granted a license to practice medicine in the kingdom of Valencia in 1346 to the Jew Jaffudà Abenvives, whose qualifications he had had verified by two royal physicians who had given Jaffudà an examination.³⁰ Was the royal intervention in this case owing to the fact that, as a Jew, Abenvives could present no documentation of having followed medicine in a university and hence had anticipated difficulties with the municipality? We do not know; but, as we have already pointed out, the *furs* of 1329 made it difficult for the

²⁹ " . . . Quod vos, foro Valencie dicente quod examinentur medici antequam arte uti incipiant medicine modo aliquo non obstante, in dicta civitate et regno Valencie uti dicta arte chirurgie libere et absque examinatione et alio quocumque obstaculo valeatis." ACA, Cancillería, reg. 864, fol. 94v (13 kals. Sep. 1338).

³⁰ ACA, Cancillería, reg. 880, fol. 186v; publ. by A. López de Meneses, "Documentos culturales," pp. 682-684; doc. 16.

members of the Jewish and Muslim minorities by requiring an academic training. Whatever the reason, it is evident that there were in fact *two* license-granting authorities in fourteenth-century Valencia: one, established by the *furs*, was the municipal government of the city of Valencia; the other was the Crown.

The royal assertion of the right to license, first observed in the late 1330s, can be better understood against the broader background of events, for a decade of acute political tension between city and king was beginning. These years culminated in the establishment of the *Unió*, a movement of rebellion whose formation "was owed essentially to the authoritarian characteristics that the royal government was taking on."³¹ It was in fact in May 1347 that the *consell* of Valencia summoned the country in order to constitute the *Unió*, claiming "that the juridical structure that ruled the life of the kingdom was being violated by the king, royal officials, and judges delegated by the Crown—who (what is worse) justified their violation by claiming the authoritarian principle, derived from Roman law, that the royal power was above all laws and rights of the land."³² The royal intervention in the control of a nascent medical profession was only one aspect of a wider assertion of authority feared by the king's Valencian subjects.

Nor, apparently, did the episode of the *Unió* bring such medical interventionism to an end, and in 1356 this provoked a serious protest to the king from those physicians and surgeons who were practicing legally. In April, led by the (Valencian) royal physician Pere Ros d'Orsins, they merely asked the king to confirm that anyone who wished to practice in Valencia had to be examined *iuxta forum*.³³ In October, however, still dissatisfied, they pointed out to the king that it was he who was violating the *furs*;³⁴ that the procedure of getting royal authorization for medical practice in the kingdom had given rise to a dangerous intrusion into the profession "of ignorant men who are not worthy of the name of physician, from which follows no little harm and consequent danger for patients."³⁵ They asked the king that "he not overstep by granting a license against the *furs*," and they charged him with issuing licenses above all to "apothecarii, tintorerii, judei, sarraceni et apostate."³⁶ The monarch's reply was conciliatory: he promised to annul all authorizations granted by him contrary to the

³¹ M. Rodrigo Lizondo, "La Unión valenciana y sus protagonistas," *Ligazas* 7 (1975), 135.

³² "Com lo senyor rey e sos officials e jutges letrats hajen fet e usat contra furs e privilegis, bons uses e libertats de la ciutat [sic], al·legants que lo senyor rey és en possessió de no servir furs e privilegis, bons uses e libertats. . . ." Ibid., pp. 137–138.

³³ ACA, Cancillería, reg. 898, fol. 253.

³⁴ A. López de Meneses, "Documentos culturales," pp. 700–701; doc. 37.

³⁵ " . . . Cuius rei occasione sequitur dampnum non modicum et per consequens pericula personarum, cum sint ignari hominis [sic] et non vocari debeant medici sed verius si tales sunt in sciencie eis ignote"; *ibid.*, p. 701.

³⁶ " . . . Aliquam cartam contra dictos foros concessisse excedere debuisse"; *ibid.*

furs, ordering all authorities in the kingdom to apply the law strictly in all matters pertaining to medical supervision, whatever circumstances might seem to permit its evasion—the latter perhaps an allusion to particular circumstances (e.g., lack of professionals, unavailability of medical care to the poor) that had encouraged the king to intervene. The monarch's deference to the *furs* thus appeared to concede the hegemony of the Valencian *consell* and indicates the growing strength of the group formed by those "approved in medicine and surgery."³⁷

This concession does not mean that after 1356 conflicts of authority did not still arise over this subject between municipality and Crown. There are no signs of them in the remainder of Pere's reign, but it is clear that Pere's son and successor, Joan I (1387–1396), repeatedly violated his father's promises of 1356. The licenses granted by Joan, without any examination and in open defiance of all provisions for regulation, are fairly numerous, both to men and to women, in various parts of the Crown of Aragon. The grant of such licenses was sometimes justified by reference to a lack of medical assistance for a local population, whether because examined and "qualified" physicians were lacking or because, although present, they charged more than their patients could pay. Such is the explanation for the license granted in 1387 to Francesc Martí, an apothecary of Vilafranca del Penedès, "for the rest of his life, even though he has not taken the required examination."³⁸ Again, in May 1393 the king granted a license to practice in the city of Valencia "and all our lands" to Joan Forner, even though he had not been examined, "since you are competent and satisfactory in the art of medicine by virtue of having learned from experience."³⁹ A few months later, in December 1394, he granted another license, this time to a woman—Bevenguda, wife of Joan Mariner of Valencia—"since it is clear that by licit rather than prohibited means . . . you are vigilant in treating and curing many men and children of both sexes of serious conditions and illnesses." The license explicitly provides that "contrary *furs*, privileges, uses and other practices of the kingdom of Valencia shall in no way interfere";⁴⁰ indeed, the document suggests a certain animosity towards the body of "qualified" physicians when it refers to the group that had originated the attacks on Bevenguda's medical practice as "those who call themselves expert in medicine." Once more we must recognize the possibility that

³⁷ "Nullus cuiuscumque conditionis existat, audeat vel presumat uti medicinali scientia vel chirurgia in civitate et regno predictis, nisi prius per quatuor annos audiverit in Studio generali et postmodum examinatus fuerit et repertus sufficiens per examinatos ordinatos in civitate predicta." Ibid.

³⁸ "Et . . . concedimus vobis dicto Francisco et licentiam elargimur quod possitis licite et impune uti de cetero quamdiu vixeritis dicta arte fische non obstante quod examinatus non fueritis." ACA, Cancillería, reg. 1893, fol. 174r.

³⁹ " . . . In arte fische sufficientem et ydoneum experientia edocente." ACA, Cancillería, reg. 1905, fol. 55r.

⁴⁰ ACA, Cancillería, reg. 1909, fol. 150v.

the motives behind professional attacks on empiric healers may have been economic, as well as based on a concern for public health—the license repeats Bevinguda's complaint that the attacks made on her by physicians arose "more from malice or envy than from a desire for justice."⁴¹

It may be that this string of royal licenses is a manifestation of a political conflict between the municipality of Valencia and King Joan I, as had been the case in his father's reign; or it may be that the Crown had economic motives, that in these licenses it hoped for a source of income. We have already indicated that still other motives, which might be termed sociomedical (e.g., lack of medical care in certain communities), are hinted at in the texts. But whatever the motivations for royal policy, they were ones to which the educational qualifications set up by the *furs* of 1329 were irrelevant, for the king recognized quite well that his licensees were merely empirics, whose "manner of curing [does not] extend to the art of medicine, since that consists not only in practice but in science."⁴²

IV

To a certain degree, the origin of the Valencian *furs* was shaped by the peculiarities of local circumstances. At the beginning of the fourteenth century Valencia enjoyed a particular reputation for the excellence of its medicine. Contemporaries associated its name with the other Mediterranean centers of medical renown. The Castilian Archpriest of Hita, after listing a wide range of medicinal products used in contemporary therapy in his *Libro de Buen Amor* (1330–1343), linked Valencia with Montpellier in the Christian West and Alexandria in the Muslim East as places equally famous for the variety of spices and electuaries they marketed.⁴³

⁴¹ Ibid. Used by R. Jordi González and J. L. Gómez Caamaño, "Mujeres y varones médicos por decisión real en el reinado de Juan I de Aragón," *Boletín Soc. Esp. Hist. Farmacia* 19 (1968), 150.

⁴² ACA, Cancillería, reg. 1908, fol. 143r.

⁴³ "Muchos letüarios dan a ellos: a las de vezes / diacitrón, codoñate e letüario de nuezes, / e otros de más quantía -de çahanorias, rehezes, / embían unas a otras, cada día, a revezes-;/

"cominada alixándria, con el buen diagargante, / el diacitronabatis, con fino jingibrate, / mielrosado, diacímino, diantosio, vadelan[j]te, / la rosata novela, que devía dezir ante;/

"adragea e alfenique, con el estomacón, / e la garíofilata, con diámargaritón, / triasándalis muy fino, con diásaturión, / què est para doñear preciaðo e nobre don. / "Sabet que todo açucar allí anda bal.lonado: / polvo, terrón e candi, e mucho del rosado, / açucar de confites e açucar violado, / e de otras muchas guisas que ya hē olvidado. /

"Monpesler, Alixandría e la nombrada Valencia / non tienen de letüarios tantos ni

Moreover, Valencia prided itself on the superiority of its physicians. In January 1315 the Valencian physician Guillem Barberà, sent by Jaume II to attend his daughter Constança (who was married to don Juan Manuel), reported disturbing news back to the monarch about the condition of his daughter, who was then in Alarcón. Immediately upon receiving the news, Jaume II wrote to Constança's Castilian husband, proposing that she be moved to Valencia:

here she will have the benefit of the air in which she was born and grew up, and will have pleasure and comfort with [her sister-in-law] the infanta doña Leonor, and with the infanta doña Violante, her sister, and we will send some of her brothers there specifically to give her comfort; and she will have abundance of physicians and of all sorts of medicinal things, which are better there than in [Alarcón].⁴⁴

Medical learning was by no means absent from the kingdom before 1329. Valencia had already produced one famous figure in the academic medical world, Arnau de Vilanova, whose thought exerted a strong effect on its powerful mercantile bourgeoisie.⁴⁵ The period when the new *furs* were being drawn up coincides with the activity of Berenguer Eymerich (c. 1300-c. 1365), who had studied medicine at Montpellier about 1320 and is one of the most interesting physicians of the fourteenth century. To affirm, as we have done, the municipal leadership in matters of public health in the 1330s does not mean that learned physicians were lacking in Valencia or indifferent to the new policies of the *furs*; after all, they too formed a part of the directing bourgeoisie.⁴⁶

Although Valencia thus seemed particularly well suited to introduce qualifying standards, there were other features of civic life there which in time tended to weaken the application of the first provision of the *furs*, the one requiring four years' training in a *studium generale* for any would-be practitioner. There was, to begin with, some continuing sup-

tanta èspecia." J. Ruiz, *Libro de Buen Amor*; ed. J. Corominas (Madrid, 1967), pp. 507–509. Corominas' notes on the materia medica listed here are extremely interesting (cf. pp. 500, 502, 504). Many of the products and materials named by Juan Ruiz figure in the list of drugs bought by the Valencian hospital of En Clapers in the years after 1374: Agustín Rubio Vela, *Pobreza, enfermedad y asistencia hospitalaria*, Appendix II and Index, pp. 197–246.

⁴⁴ Cited by Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, I, 136–37.

⁴⁵ Agustín Rubio Vela, "Una fundación burguesa en la Valencia medieval: el Hospital de En Clapers," *Dynamis* 1 (1981), 17–49; idem, "Un hospital medieval según su fundador: el testamento de Bernat dez Clapers (Valencia, 1311)," *Dynamis* 3 (1983), 373–387; M. Rodrigo Lizondo, "La protesta de Valencia de 1318 y otros documentos inéditos referentes a Arnau de Vilanova," *Dynamis* 1 (1981), 241–273.

⁴⁶ The most important academically trained physicians in Valencia in the first generation after the promulgation of the *furs* were Miró de Corça (d. c. 1368), Pere Ros d'Orsins (d. c. 1367), and Sanç del Miracle (d. c. 1360), on whom see Luis García Ballester, *Historia social de la medicina*, p. 25, and references there. On Pere Ros d'Orsins, see also Rubió Balaguer, *Documentos*, pp. [38]–[41] and [75].

port in Valencia for opening the teaching of medicine to more than just those who had been trained by a *studium*. This was encouraged by intellectual developments that distinguished the capital, particularly the growth of Lullist philosophy. In 1369 Pere IV granted Berenguer Fluvià the privilege of teaching the Lullist doctrine, both in medicine and surgery and in philosophy and astronomy, and of conferring the mastership on whomever he found qualified;⁴⁷ and on 12 October 1392 Joan I conceded a similar privilege to the Valencian physician-surgeon Francesc Surià.⁴⁸

Ramon Llull's peculiar philosophy, an all-encompassing vision of man and his relations with his surroundings (carrying with it a particular system of medicine and surgery), found special strength and penetration in Valencian society in the second half of the fourteenth century. It enjoyed great prestige among physicians of the city.⁴⁹ Indeed, Pere Geronés, *examinador de metges* in various years between 1380 and 1393,⁵⁰ was one of the leaders of Valencian Lullism;⁵¹ Pere Figuerola (also an *examinador*, and associated with Pere Geronés in this capacity in 1393) was another prominent Lullist.⁵² Both had an active role in the events that took place between the city of Valencia and the inquisitor Eimeric in the latter's attempt to condemn the Lullist vision as heretical. The medical aspects of this philosophy have been inadequately studied, and sources for their development in Valencia or the Crown of Aragon in the last thirty years of the fourteenth century are extremely hard to locate. It is clear, nevertheless, that Lullist medicine offered a popular alternative to the medicine of the orthodox faculties, and that its attraction for the Valencian bourgeoisie would have weakened the faculties' claim to a monopoly on medical education and qualification.⁵³

If a *studium generale* had been set up in Valencia itself, its claims to supervise all medical training would no doubt have been considered,

⁴⁷ ACA, Cancillería, reg., 917, fol. 213v; published by Rubió y Lluch, *Documents*, I, 222 (doc. 230).

⁴⁸ Luis Comenge, "La medicina en el reino de Aragón. Siglo XIV," *El Siglo Médico* 44 (1897), p. 468.

⁴⁹ J. de Puig i Oliver, "El procés dels lul·listes valencians contra Nicolau Eimeric en el marc del Cisma d'Occident," *Boletín de la Soc. Cast. de Cultura* 56 (1980), 319–463.

⁵⁰ See Appendix 1, below.

⁵¹ J. de Puig i Oliver, "El procés," pp. 339 n. 21, 352–356.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 356–360. Pere Figuerola was likewise prosecuted by Eimeric (*ibid.*, p. 359).

⁵³ We know that Pere Figuerola was trained c. 1370 at Montpellier; he wrote a brief but interesting *Regimen sanitatis* to his sons in 1415 (ed. by L. Thorndike, "Advice from a Physician to his Sons," *Speculum* 6 [1931], 110–114; Thorndike's date for the work is mistaken) and a commentary on the surgery of Guy de Chauliac that is unfortunately lost. We know of the commentary by the reference to it in the library of Martín de Overna, of which the inventory was drawn up in 1416: "Item, Catappell de mestre Guido ab suplementes de maestre Pere Figuerola, scrit en pergamí, cubert de fust, ab camisa de aluda blanca." A. Ivars, "Inventario de los libros de don Martín de Overna. Año 1416," *Archivo Iberoamericano*, 1913, p. 449.

but no such *studium* was created before the late sixteenth century—and then it was one whose principal emphasis lay in the teaching of Greek and Latin. Indeed, even though physicians in the city displayed enough corporate self-consciousness to address the king as a body in 1356, at no time during the century did they receive recognition as a *collegium* (as Barcelona's physicians did in 1342 from Pere IV); certainly they did not display that common identity that a shared academic formation would have instilled, and probably relatively few had been so schooled. For without a *studium* near at hand, Valencian society was unable to find enough university graduates to provide even a minimally adequate level of care.

In 1373 the Valencian *consell* did actually resolve to establish a *studium generale* in the city, and it charged the physician Pere Figuerola with drawing up plans for the project. The bishop of Valencia, however, protested, pointing to papal and conciliar privileges in favor of the church's right to control such education. In the following year, after a sharp debate, the municipality abandoned its plans and chose in retaliation to endorse the freedom to teach originally established by the *furs* (c. 1238). A similar situation arose again in 1399 and 1400, and again the *jurats* agreed to return to the *furs* of Jaume I,

allowing every master, under the last provision of the said *fur* entitled 'De metges,' that he may hold a school with or without another master in association, in whatever place that he wishes and can find within the city, without hindrance or opposition from other masters.⁵⁴

This clear restatement by the *consell* of a general freedom to offer medical instruction would appear at first glance to be an outright repudiation of the first provision of the *furs* of 1329.

Signs of a similar resistance are to be found in Catalonia, in the reaction by the Barcelonan physicians to the creation in 1401 by Martí I of a "*studium generale de medicina*" in Barcelona; in the charter of foundation, the king affirmed that "no one in the city of Barcelona may practice unless he be distinguished by the title of 'magister.'"⁵⁵ Neither

⁵⁴ "Los dits honrats jurats, vista lur disceptació, attés que ls capitols que.s dien formats sobre tal unitat són exhorbitans a fur . . . , revocaren e hagueren per revocats de fet e per nul·les, e no servadors, los dits affermatos capitols, sots qualsevol concepció de paraules sien concebutos, donants facultats e leer a cascun mestre per observança del dit fur, posat sots rúbrica 'De metges,' lo capítol últim, que puxa tenir escola ab altre companyó mestre e sens aquell, en aquell loch de la ciutat que.s volrà e trobar porà, sens embarch e oppòsit d'altre mestre." AMV, Manuals de Consells, A-22, fol. 21v; published by V. Vives Liern, *Las casas de los estudios de Valencia* (Valencia, 1902), pp. 97–98; doc. 3. On these problems, see L. García Ballester, *Historia social de la medicina*, pp. 26–27.

⁵⁵ ACA, reg. 2196, fols. 2v–3v; published by Rubió Balaguer, *Documentos*, p. [104], doc. 67. On these themes, see Luis García Ballester, *Historia social*, pp. 23–29; and idem, *Los orígenes de la profesión médica en Cataluña*, pp. 144ff.

the government nor the medical guild of Barcelona accepted this royal imposition of an educational monopoly over professional medical activity, which gave rise to a series of tensions.⁵⁶

How are we to interpret this apparent contradiction between Valencia's refusal to restrict the teaching of medicine, on the one hand, and its continuing enforcement of the *furs*, on the other? We would suggest that by the end of the fourteenth century the requirement of graduation from a *studium generale* was not being strictly enforced, and perhaps never had been. In our view, the *examinadors* regarded an academic education more as a prospective ideal than as a minimal criterion for qualification. They still acted to punish certain individuals who for whatever reason could not or would not satisfy their requirements, as we know from the cases of the Jew Blanca (fined 100 *sous* in 1384 for practicing medicine without accepting the *furs*)⁵⁷ and of Gento Morcat (fined 22 *sous* in 1390 for practicing surgery without having been examined).⁵⁸ But of the 28 candidates we have found licensed by the city of Valencia between 1378 and 1396 to practice medicine, only one—the Italian Tommaso de Maestre Tone, licensed in 1380—actually had a university degree.⁵⁹

At the end of the fourteenth century, the number of physicians and surgeons per 10,000 inhabitants in Valencia was only 6–7, and this figure falls to about 5 if physicians alone are counted.⁶⁰ This level is only slightly higher than that of 1347, just before the Black Death, when it varied between 3 and 4 Christian physicians (we do not know the number of surgeons) per 10,000 inhabitants.⁶¹ So low a figure—comparable to what we find today in the most underdeveloped pockets of Southeast Asia or in certain African or Latin-American countries—helps to explain why empirics and other healers continued to prosper,

⁵⁶ C. Carrère, "Refus d'une création universitaire et niveaux de culture à Barcelone: hypothèses d'explication," *Le Moyen Age* 34 (1979), 245–273; García Ballester, *Los orígenes*, pp. 143ff.

⁵⁷ J. Hinojosa Montalvo, "La comunidad hebrea en Valencia: del esplendor a la nada (1377–1391)," *Saitabi* 31 (1981), 66.

⁵⁸ ARV, *Maestre Racional*, 6441, fol. 14v; cited by Hinojosa, loc. cit.

⁵⁹ Appendix 2, doc. 10.

⁶⁰ On 15 November 1400 there were 19 physicians in the city of Valencia (7 *maestres en medicina* and 12 *licenciats en medicina*) and eight surgeons; AMV, *Lletres missives*, g3–7, s.f., published by A. Rubio Vela, *Peste Negra, crisis y comportamientos sociales en la España del siglo XIV. La ciudad de Valencia, 1348–1401* (Granada, 1979), pp. 130–31 (doc. xxiv). The population of the city at this time has been estimated as 35–40,000 inhabitants.

⁶¹ On 6 June 1347 the city had 11–12 physicians: En Francesc Çabruguera, maestre Jacme [Lam]ja(?), maestre Bertomeu de Vernet, Pere de Vernet, En Guillem Tortosa, En Pere Correger, maestre Bernat Ferrer, Folquet Colom, Guillem Galceran, Arnau Pastor, maestre Berenguer Eymerich, and Pere Rois (probably also a physician); ACA, Real Audiencia histórica, Procesos, leg. 120, cuaderno 13a, fol. 4r and cuaderno 10, fol. 32v. The city also had 31 barbers; *ibid.*, leg. 120, cuaderno 12, fol. 50r. These data come from the oaths sworn to the *Unió* of Valencia by the inhabitants of the city and various parts of the kingdom; these signers were all from the city. (We thank Mateo Rodrigo Lizondo for furnishing this information.) There were 10,625 signatories from the city, which has given us a demographic basis (of ca. 20–25,000 inhabitants) for our estimate here.

despite the attempt of the *furs* to eliminate their activity. The system of unrestricted instruction in medicine that the Valencian *consell* finally endorsed at the end of the fourteenth century led to an even greater proliferation of practitioners who, although "they should not be called physicians,"⁶² nevertheless acted as such. In the end, therefore, the activities of the *examinadors* had to focus on the worst of this sort of medical practice. The system of medical examination that had evolved in Valencia by the end of the century maintained a balance between a perceived need for medical standards, on the one hand, and an objective need for enough practitioners to satisfy the health care demands of the inhabitants of the kingdom, on the other.

⁶² "Et non vocari debeant medici"; A. López de Meneses, "Documentos culturales," p. 701, doc. 37.

APPENDIX 1

MUNICIPAL EXAMINERS OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS IN VALENCIA, 1336–1400*

- 1336: Bertomeu de Casaldòria
Pere Correger
- 1337: Francesc Ça-Bruguera
Berenguer Eymerich
- 1338: Bertomeu de Casaldòria
Jacme d'Avinyó
- 1339: Berenguer Eymerich
Pere Correger
- 1340: Pere de Lambilles
Ramon Pere
- 1341: Berenguer Eymerich
Jacme d'Avinyó
- 1342: Pere Correger
Miquel del Miracle
- 1343: Bernat Ferrer
[Miquel del Miracle]
[Bertomeu de Casaldòria]
- 1344: Miró de Corça
Pere Lambilles
- 1345: Miró de Corça
Pere Lambilles
- 1346: Bernat Ferrer
Francesc Ça-Bruguera
- 1347–1348: *missing*
- 1349: Berenguer Eymerich
Bernat Minguet
- 1350: Miró de Corça
Bernat Minguet
Jacme Metge
- 1351: Andreu Ponç
Sanç del Miracle

* The names have been drawn from the lists in the Manuals del Consell, AMV, except for those placed in square brackets, which have been supplied from other documentation of the period.

- 1352: *missing*
- 1353: Berenguer Eymerich
Nicolau Barceló
- 1354: Sanç del Miracle
Jacme d'Avinyó
- 1355–1357: *missing*
- 1358: [Sanç del Miracle]
[Andreu Ponç]
- 1359–1368: *missing*
- 1369: Romeu Brusçà
Arnau Guillem, *alias* Metge
- 1370: Andreu Ponç
Nicolau Barcelò
- 1371: *missing*
- 1372: [Gabriel Dezcortell]
[Jacme d'Avinyó]
- 1373–1377: *missing*
- 1378: [Jacme Maderes]
[Francesc Cambres]
- 1379: Pere Soler
Gabriel Dezcortell
- 1380: [Jacme Maderes]
[Vicent Serra]
- 1381: Jacme Maderes
Pere Geronés
- 1382: Pere Figuerola
Pere Soler
- 1383: Jacme Maderes
Pere Geronés
- 1384: [Pere Geronés]
- 1385: Guillem Ça-Fàbrega
Jacme d'Avinyó
- 1386: Jacme Maderes
Pere Geronés
- 1387: [Pere Figuerola]
[Bernat d'Artesa]
- 1388: Bernat Minguet (replaced by Jacme Maderes)
Jacme d'Avinyó
- 1389: [Guillem Ça-Fàbrega]
[Pere Figuerola]
- 1390: [Bernat d'Artesa]
[Gabriel Dezcortell]
- 1391–1392: *missing*
- 1393: Pere Figuerola
Pere Geronés
- 1394: *missing*

- 1395: Jacme d'Avinyó
Jacme Rotg (*sic*)
1396: Pere Figuerola
Vicent Serra
1397: Pere Soler
Bernat d'Artesa
1398: Pere Urgellers
Lluís d'Ordis
1399: Pere Soler
Guillem Piquó
1400: Jacme Maderes
Bernat Oliver

APPENDIX 2

DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE EXAMINATION AND SUPERVISION OF MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS

(Editorial emendations or comments have been put within parentheses; letters supplied where the manuscript is defective have been put within square brackets. Each document is followed immediately by its English translation. We are deeply grateful to Germà Colón for furnishing us with the transcription of document 1.)

1

Valencia, 1329.

King Alfons IV el Benigne establishes provisions in the Cortes of Valencia governing the examination and supervision of those wishing to practice medicine in the kingdom (AMV, Furs de València, ms B of Boronat Péra, fols. 119v–120r).

De metges.

<1> Manam e establím que.l justícia e els // jurats cascu any lo terçer jorn ans de Nadal eligen .II. físichs de actoritat, los quals sien examinadors de tots los metges de físicha qui novellament vinguen per praticar en la ciutat e en les viles del regne, e aquell que trobaran sufficient, e que almenys haja oйда art de física o medicina per .IIII. anys en estudi general, sia reebut a praticar la dita art, e en altra manera no y sia reebut. E si sens la dita examinació e licència usará, sia caygut en pena per cascuna vegada de .C. morabatins d'or, dels quals la terça part sia de la cort, e la terça de la universitat del loch, e la terça de l'acusador. E sots la dita pena partidora segons que dessús, alcun físich no particip en los salaris dels apotecharis, e que açò juren cascu any l'endemà de Ninou, per lo qual sagrament prometen e sien tenguts de tatxar tempradament lo salari dels apotecharis quantesque vegades ne serà qüestió. E si alcun físich caurà en la dita pena e pagar no la porà, sia gitat del loch a tots temps.

<2> Los metges qui ara usen de física o de cirurgia sien examinats, e aquells qui seran trobats suffitiens romanguen en l'offici, e los altres no usen, sots pena de .C. morabatins d'or, partidors segons que dessús.

<3> Alcuna fembra no ús de medicina, ne de dar bouratges, sotz (*sic*) pena de córrer la vila açotan, mas puxen pensar de infans pochs e de fombres, a les quals, emperò, no donen alcun bouratge.

<4> Tot cirurgià qui tinga alcun nafrat en poder sia tengut de dir, ab sacrament, sens alcun salari, quantesque vegades request ne serà, si.l nafrat és fora de sospita o no.

<5> Barber no ús de medicina o de cirurgia, si donchs no serà examinat per los examinadors dels metges e donat per sufficient. E si sens lur examinació e licència ne usarà, pac per pena cascuna vegada que contrafarà .L. morabatins d'or, dels quals haja la terça part la cort, la terça la universitat del loch, e la terça l'acusador.

<6> Cascun metge axí de físicha con (*sic*) de cirurgia jur cascun any en poder del justícia, en lo començament de la aministració d'aquell, que no reeba en cura alcun o alguna qui sia greument malalt o nafrat si donchs primerament lo malalt o nafrat no haurà confessat, sinó en tal cas de perill de mort que la triga fos perillosa, e ladonchs no sia feta la segona visitació tro lo patient haja confessat.

<7> Metges axí físichs com cirurgians les receptes que dictaran hajan dictar en romanç, declaran los noms de les herbes e de les altres coses medicinals en lur nom comú e vulgar. E axí meteix hajan a declarar los noms del pes o mesura de les dites coses en manera que.s puxa clarament entendre per la gent popular. E qual qui contra açò farà, pach per pena cascuna vegada .X. morabatins d'or, dels quals haja la cort la terça part, e la terça la universitat del loch, e la terça l'acusador.

* * *

Concerning [medical] practitioners.

1. We command and ordain that the justiciar and the *jurats* elect, every year, three days before Christmas, two leading physicians who shall be the examiners of all the practitioners of physic who have recently come to practice in the city or in the towns of the kingdom; and those whom they find competent, and who have followed the art of medicine for at least four years in a *studium generale*, shall be admitted to practice the said art, and if not they shall not be admitted. And if they practice without the said examination and license, they shall be liable to a fine of 100 gold morabatins for each occasion, of which a third part shall go to the court, a third to the town, and a third to the accuser. And under the same penalty, allotted as above, no physician shall share in the fees of apothecaries, and each year they shall swear an oath the day after New Year's promising to set apothecaries' fees moderately, as often as necessary. And if any physician shall be assessed the said fine and not be able to pay, let him be expelled from the town forever.

2. Practitioners who are now practicing physic or surgery shall be examined, and those who are found competent may remain in practice but not the others, under a fine of 100 gold morabatins allotted as above.
3. No woman shall practice medicine or give potions, under penalty of being whipped through the town; but they may care for little children, and women—to whom, however, they may give no potion.
4. Every surgeon who has a wounded patient in his care shall be required to state on oath, for no fee and as often as he shall be asked, whether the patient is out of danger or not.
5. No barber shall practice medicine or surgery if he has not been examined by the examiners of practitioners and found competent. And if he should practice without their examination and license, he shall pay a fine of 50 gold morabatins every time he transgresses, of which the court shall receive a third, the town a third, and the accuser a third.
6. Every practitioner, whether of physic or of surgery, shall swear each year before the justiciar at the beginning of his term that he will not treat anyone who is seriously ill or wounded, man or woman, if the patient has not first made confession—except in a potentially fatal case where a delay would be dangerous, and then he will not make a second visit until the patient has confessed.
7. Practitioners, both physicians and surgeons, shall give prescriptions for medicines in the vulgar tongue, naming herbs and other medicinal things by their common or popular names. Likewise they shall give weights and measures of the said things in a manner that can be readily understood by the ordinary people. And whosoever shall disobey shall pay each time a fine of 10 gold morabatins, of which the court shall receive a third, the town a third, and the accuser a third.

2

Valencia, 9 December 1334.

Miquel de Roures, notary of Valencia, accuses master Jacme Lama to the justiciar of Valencia of having practiced medicine without having been approved by the examiners, as required by the furs of 1329 (ARV, Justícia Civil, 42, s. f.).

Anno Domini millesimo .CCCº. tricentesimo tricesimo (sic) quarto, die veneris intitulata quinto idus decembris. Comparech denant l'onrat En Bernat Çanou, justícia de València en lo civil, En Michel de Roures de una part, et maestre Jacme Lama de l'altra. Et lo dit En Michel de Roures, per escrit, posà ço que.s segueix:

Davant vós, sènyer En Bernat Çanou, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, claman, proposa En Michel de Roures, notari, contra En

Jacme Lama, qui.s diu metge, dién e afferman en juhii contra aquell que.l dit En Jacme Lama, sens que no és estat examinat e provat ne atrobat sufficient per los físichs los quals són elets per cascun any per lo justícia e per los jurats segons la forma del fur nou, e sens que per los dits físichs no és estada a aquell donada o atorgada licència de practicar de físicha, ne ha hoÿt en estudi general .IIII^e. anys, ha cessat (*sic*) e praticat de física e de medecina en la dita ciutat de .III. anys a ençà contínuament .X. vegades per cada dia e pus, que munta per cascun any .CLXXX. mil.lia *libras* poch més o menys. Et no-res-menys, per lo dit temps ha participat lo salari o salaris ab apotechari o apotecharis .C. vegades poch més o menys, e ha ordenades receptes en latí .C. vegades poch més o menys. On, com segons lo dit fur nou alcun metge o físich lo qual vengués après de la confecció d'aquells per practicar en la ciutat no deja usar o practicar de física o medicina en la dita ciutat ni en les viles del regne si donchs no serà examinat e atrobat suficient e donada licència a aquell de praticar e usar de físicha o medicina, et que haja hoÿt .IIII. anys en estudi general, e.n altra manera sia encorregut e caygut en pena de .C. morabatins per cascuna vegada que usarà; et si participa los salaris ab los apotecharis, sia caygut en semblant pena, et si darà receptes en latí als apotecharis, sia caygut en pena de .X. morabatins per cascuna vegada, et lo dit En Jacma (*sic*) Lama, après la confecció dels dits furs nous, sia vengut en la dita ciutat per practicar e usar de físicha o medicina, per tal, lo dit En Michel de Roures demane e requer que per vós, sènyer dit justícia, lo dit En Jacme Lama sia condempnat a.quelles penes en lo dit fur posades, enaxí que al dit En Miquel de Roures sia feit compliment de dret e de justícia en tot ço que de fur e de rahó sia faedor, et per tot dret que li pertanga o pertànyer-lo.s puscha [o].s deça. Et açò demane ab les messions del pleyt feytes e a ffer, salvu dret de créxer e minvar, etc.

Et com tot demanat deja dar fermança de dret, per tal, lo dit En Michel de // Roures requer que per vós, sènyer dit justícia, lo dit En Jacma Lama encontinent sia forçat e destret de donar fermança de dret e de pagar la cosa jutjada; et si aquella donar no porà o no volrà, que sia retengut a presó, com axí sia faedor segons fur. En altra manera, si contrafahiets, ço que no creu, o lo dit En Jacme Lama s'asentava, com sia hom vagabunt, proteste lo dit En Michel de Roures que sia imputat a vós, sènyer dit justícia, e a vostres béns e de vostre assessor. Et no-res-menys requer que tots los béns d'aquell sien encontinent escrits e emparats, per tal que aquells no sien abcegats e que.l dret del senyor rey no sia perdut.

Et enaprés, addén e milloran, fa e posa les declaracions infrasegüents:

Primerament diu e declara que los furs nous foren feyts per lo senyor rey en la ciutat de València en l'any de .M.CCC.XX.IX., .V. anys ha poch més o menys.

Item diu e declara que .III. anys ha poch més o menys que.l dit En Jacme Lama vingué en la dita ciutat per usar e praticar de físicha o medicina.

Item diu e declara que.l dit En Jacme Lama, dels dits .III. anys ençà, ha usat de medicina en la dita ciutat comunament e sens que no fo examinat per aquells per qui devia ésser examinat.

Item diu e declara que sí.l dit En Jacme Lama vengué a examinació, que aquell no fo aprovat per los examinadors ni li fon donada licència per aquell de praticar, usar de medicina o físicha en la dita ciutat, ne fo atrobat que agués hoÿt .IIII^e. anys en estudi general, ans dehia e responia peguots e fatuïtats a les interrogacions que li fahien los examinadors, e fon donat per insuficient.

Item declara que.l dit En Jacma Lama, per los dits .III. anys, ha usat de medicina o físicha deu vegades per cascun jorn poch més o menys en la dita ciutat.

Item declara que.l dit En Jacme Lama ha praticat lo salari ab apotchari o apotcharis [.C.] vegades poch més o menys.

Item diu [e] declara que.l dit En Jacme Lama ha ordenades (o) dictades receptes en latí .C. vegades poch més o menys.

Item declara que de les dites coses és fama. //

A les quals demanda e declaracions demanà ésser respost per la dita part adversa, atorgan o negan, car si negades seran o fer-se provador, proteste, emperò, que no.s requer *nomen* (?) a provar totes les dites coses, mas tan solament aquelles que poran e a la sua intenció a fundar bastaran.

Fo interrogat per sacrament lo proposant qui havia dictada la present demanda, e dix que En Domingo Eymerich e En Domingo de Monçó, savis en dret de València.

E en aquell instant mateix, lo dit maestre Jacme per escrit posà ço que.s segueix:

E lo dit maestre Jacme Lama diu, excipién, que no és tengut de respondre a la dita demanda, ne enantar ne proceyr en aquella denant vós, sènyer dit justícia, per les rahons següents:

Primerament per ço com lo dit maestre Jacme és clergue e tonsurat, e ab tonsura e hàbit clerical atrobat e ja tengut per clergue per vós, sènyer dit justícia, per què no és tengut de fer dret en poder de vós, sènyer dit justícia, com no sia de vostra juredicció, ne vós, sènyer dit justícia, per vigor de la dita injusta demanda, no podets ni devets enantar contra ell ni sos béns, com lo for de la persona seguesque.n lurs béns.

Item per ço car per inspecció de la dita demanda és clar e manifest a vós, sènyer dit justícia, que.l dit En Michel no ha loch de proposar aquella, com no pertanga a ell principalment ne accessòria.

Item per ço com lo dit En Michel és demanat de crim de fur(t) denant lo justícia criminal, del qual crim de furt no és encara purgat; et axí no pot estar en juhii tro s[ens] que.l dit crim sia purgat e per d'al-

tres rahons; per què requer que vós, sènyer dit justícia, cessets de enantar o proceyr contra lo dit maestre Jacme e sos béns com fer-o dejats. En altra manera protesta de tot son dret.

Et lo dit justícia, vista la demanda per lo dit En Michel de Roures proposada e les rahons e excepcions per lo dit maestre Jacme Lama contra aquella proposades e al·legades, de continent féu venir lo dit maestre Jacme Lama denant si, lo qual trobà ab tonsura e hàbit clerical e, per consegüent, la persona de aquell lo dit justícia no podia fer retenir a presó per rahó de la dita demanda. Emperò, quant als béns de aquell, lo dit justícia tramés En Bernat d'Auriach, escrivà de la cort, per scriure // aquells, per ço que si loch per alcun temps la dita demanda pot ésser vista haver, que dels dits béns, per la rahó damunt dita, al senyor rey pusca ésser feta conservació de dret en los dits béns per la rahó damunt dita, si alcun li és pertanyent. Et no-res-menys, assigne dia a les parts damunt dites a comparar denant ell per enantar el dit feyt degudament diluns següent de matí, ans de cort partida.

* * *

In the year of our Lord 1334, Friday the fifth day of the ides of December, there appeared before the honorable En Bernat Çanou, civil justiciar of Valencia, Miquel de Roures on the one hand and master Jacme Lama on the other. And the said Miquel de Roures set out the following, in writing:

Before you, Bernat Çanou, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, Miquel de Roures, notary, complains against Jacme Lama, calling himself a physician, and publicly affirms against him that the said Jacme Lama, without having been examined and found competent by the physicians who are elected each year by the justiciar and by the *jurats* according to the form of the new *fur*, and without having been given a license to practice physic, or attending a *studium generale* for four years, has practiced physic and medicine in the said city continuously for three years, ten times a day or more, which comes to 180,000 pounds more or less per year. Moreover, during the said period he has shared fees with apothecaries 100 times more or less, and has drawn up prescriptions in Latin 100 times more or less. Wherefore, since according to the said new *fur* no practitioner or physician who arrives to practice in the city after the promulgation of [the *fur*] may not practice physic or medicine in the said city nor in the towns of the kingdom if he has not been examined and found competent and given a licence to practice physic or medicine or attended a *studium generale* for four years, and otherwise shall be fined 100 morabatins for each time he has practiced; and if he shares fees with apothecaries shall suffer a like penalty, and if he writes prescriptions in Latin to the apothecaries shall be fined ten morabatins for each offence; and since the said Jacme Lama arrived in the said city after the promulgation of the new *furs* to prac-

tice medicine, therefore, the said Miquel de Roures demands the said Jacme Lama be condemned by you, lord justiciar, to the penalties prescribed by the said *fur*, so that the said Miquel de Roures shall receive his full rights in law according to the *fur*. And he asks as well all the costs of this suit, past and present, reserving to himself the right to increase or decrease them.

And as every complainant asks that the law be fulfilled, therefore the said Miquel de Roures asks, lord justiciar, that you force the said Jacme Lama immediately to observe the law and to pay the fine assessed; and if he cannot or will not, let him be imprisoned, so as to comply with the *fur*. And if you will not do this (which he does not believe), or if the said Jacme Lama disappears [from the city] (for he is a vagabond), the said Miquel de Roures protests that you will be to blame, lord justiciar, and will be held responsible with your possessions. And moreover he demands that all his goods be immediately inventoried and frozen so that they may not be concealed and so that the rights of the lord king may not be lost.

Subsequently, enlarging on this, he makes the following statements:

First he declares that the new *furs* were promulgated by the lord king in the city of Valencia in the year 1329, five years ago more or less.

Likewise he declares that three years ago more or less the said Jacme Lama came to the said city to practice medicine.

Likewise he declares that the said Jacme Lama has routinely practiced medicine generally for those three years without being examined by those by whom he ought to be examined.

Likewise he declares that in fact the said Jacme Lama has presented himself at examination, but he has not been approved by the examiners nor given a licence by them to practice medicine in the said city, nor has he been determined to have studied four years in a *studium generale*, but he gave back nonsense and inanities to the questions put to him by the examiners, and was held to be incompetent.

Likewise he declares that the said Jacme Lama has practiced medicine in the said city ten times every day more or less for the said three years.

Likewise he declares that the said Jacme Lama has shared fees with apothecaries 100 times more or less.

Likewise he declares that the said Jacme Lama has prescribed recipes in Latin 100 times more or less.

Likewise he declares that these things are common knowledge.

To which complaints he demands that the defendant reply, with admission or denial; if he denies them, he [Miquel] will prove them, but he insists that he should not have to prove all the said things, only those which will be sufficient to justify his assertion.

The plaintiff was asked on oath who had drawn up this complaint, and he named Domingo Eymerich and Domingo de Monçó, jurists of Valencia.

And at that very moment, the said master Jacme replied in writing as follows:

And the said master Jacme Lama says in response that he is not required to reply to the said complaint nor to pursue it before you, lord justiciar, for the following reasons:

First, because the said master Jacme is a tonsured cleric and has already been acknowledged by you, lord justiciar, in tonsure and clerical habit as a cleric, lord justiciar, wherefore he is not required to submit to your authority, lord justiciar, since he is not in your jurisdiction, nor can you, lord justiciar, proceed against him or his goods on the strength of the said unjust demand, since possessions fall under the law of their possessor.

Likewise because by inspection of the said complaint it is manifest to you, lord justiciar, that the said Miquel has no right to bring it since it does not pertain to him either directly or indirectly.

Likewise because the said Miquel is accused of the crime of theft before the criminal justiciar and is not yet absolved of the theft, and hence cannot take part in a case until the said charge is resolved, and for other reasons; wherefore he demands that you, lord justiciar, cease to proceed against the said master Jacme and his goods as you wish to. He protests his rights to the contrary.

And the said justiciar, having studied the complaint by the said Miquel de Roures and the replies proposed to it by the said master Jacme Lama, straightway caused the said master Jacme Lama to come before him, and found him with tonsure and clerical dress and consequently the said justiciar could not place him in prison in accordance with the said complaint. However, as to his goods, the said justiciar sent Bernat Auriach, scribe of the court, to inventory them, in order to assure that if at some point the said complaint were accepted, for the abovementioned reason the lord king's right in the said goods might be preserved, if any should pertain to him. And furthermore he named the day for the abovementioned parties to appear before him to hear the said case properly, next Monday morning before the court rises.

3

Valencia, 5 November 1350.

The consell of the city of Valencia commands the examination of all physicians and apothecaries who have recently arrived in the city, in accord with the provisions of the furs (AMV, Manuals de Consells, A-9, fols. 122v-123r).

En lo qual consell fon proposat per los dits honrats jurats que, com alguns metges e speciés novellament sien en la ciutat e pratiquen de

lurs arts sens que no són examinats, segons qu'és fur los dits metges deuen ésser examinats, enaxí com sie cosa perillosa aquells usar o pratichar sens la dita examinació, e semblantment los dits speciés s'entrameten a les vegades donar .I. erba per altra, o una cosa per altra, per tal com no són sabents ni conexents les dites erbes o les coses medecinals; per ço, que seria bo que en los dits metges fos tenguda la forma del dit fur, e que hi fossen assignats, per examinadors de aquells, metges qui tots aquells examinassen, e a.çò que fossen talls persones o metges sabents del dit art assignats que fessen examinació de aquells. Et axí meteix .II. speciayres qui examinassen los dits speciés segons que mills puxen, a pprofit e utilitat de la cosa pública. Per què lo consell, concordantment, ordenà e tench per bé que ls dits metges ussants en la dita ciutat fossen examinats, segons que per fur és ordenat e stablit, e per examinadors d'aquells que y ordenaven maestre Miró // de Cur[ç]à, maestre Bernat Mi(n)guet e N Jacme Metge, los quals dejen aquells examinar.

Encara ordenà e volch lo dit consell que los speciés fossen examinats per los dits examinadors de metges ensemps ab .II. speciés sabents bé de l'art. Et de present ordenà y En Antoni Pautrer e En Guillem Caner, los quals, ensemps ab los dits metges, regoneguen e vegen e examinen aquells e les coses medecinals que en lurs obradors o cases tenen; e si n'hi trobaran de incovinents, que aquells puxen cremar e vessar tantes quantes vegades n'ich trobaran. Emperò, que a les dites examinacions sien .II. dels jurats per certifficar-se dels que no seran sofficients, axí dels dits metges examinadors com dels dits speciés, per tal que puxe ésser provehit ab lo dit consell o justícia a fer a aquells inhibicions o altres forces per les quals no puxen mal.lament de lurs arts ussar. Et que cascun any d'ací enant los dits jurats hagen poder de assignar los dits examinadors de metges e de speciés.

* * *

In which council session it was proposed by the said honorable *jurats* that since some practitioners and apothecaries are newly come to the city and are practicing their arts without having been examined, as such practitioners ought to be examined under the terms of the *fur*, since it is a dangerous thing for them to practice without such an examination, and likewise the said apothecaries at times engage in giving an herb for this or an herb for that without being acquainted with the said herbs or medical things; and because it would be good that the form of the *fur* be observed for the said practitioners, and that there be appointed examiners of such practitioners who would examine all such, and that such persons be appointed as are knowledgeable in the said art, that they may carry out examinations on them—likewise two apothecaries who would examine the said apothecaries as best they can—for the good of the public. Wherefore the council,

agreeing, commanded that the said practitioners practicing in the said city be examined, as is ordained by the *fur*, and appointed master Miró de Curçà, master Bernat Minguet, and Jacme Metge as examiners of such.

The council also commanded that apothecaries be examined by the said examiners of practitioners together with two apothecaries knowledgeable in the art. And they appointed Antoni Pautrer and Guillem Caner, who, together with the said physicians, shall inspect and examine them and the medicines that they have in their shops or houses; and whenever they discover anything incorrect, they may destroy it. Furthermore, let there be two *jurats* present at the said examinations to certify those who are incompetent, together with the said examiner-practitioners and the said apothecaries, so that the said council and justiciar may be able to provide means whereby such may not misuse their arts. And that henceforth every year the said *jurats* shall have the power to appoint the said examiners of practitioners and of apothecaries.

4

Valencia, 11 October 1378.

Grant of a license to practice "the art of physic" in Valencia and its kingdom to the Valencian Jew Içach Çaroxel.la (ARV, Justícia Civil [Lletres], 391, s. fol.)

[Anno a nativitate Domini] millesimo .CCC^o.LXX^o. octavo, die lune hora tertiarum que [fuit] .XI^a. mensis octobris. Comparech davant l'onrat En Martí Fuster, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, Içach Çaroxel.la, juheu de la dita ciutat, e presentà a aquell una letra certifficatòria dels honrats e discrets mestre Jacme Maderes, mestre en arts e en medicina, e En Francesch Cambres, mestre en arts e licenciat en medicina, metges de la dita ciutat, examinadors deputats e assignats per los honrats jurats de la dita ciutat, en paper escrita, uberta, e dins aquella ab dos sagells dels dits examinadors en cera vermella sage-llada, la qual és de la tenor següent:

A l'honrat e discret lo justícia civil de la ciutat de València, o a son lochti-nent. De nós, En Jacme Maderes, mestre en arts e en medicina, e En Francesch Cambres, mestre en arts e licenciat en medicina, metges de la dita ciutat, examinadors deputats e assignats per los honrats justícia e jurats de la dita ciutat de tots los metges de física e de cirurgia vinents novellament per practicar en la dita ciutat e vil.las del regne de València. Salut e honor. A la discreció de vós per tenor de les presents certifficam ésser comparegut denant nós Yçach Çarrochel.la, juheu de la dita ciutat, lo qual, volent usar de art de fí-

sicha dins les ciutat, viles e lochs del dit regne, és estat per nós examinat segons forma de fur e havem aquell atrobat abte e sufficient per longa e aprovada experiència de usar e pratichar de la dita art de físicha, per què, instant e requirient lo dessús dit Yçach Çarrochel.la de la sua suficiència, per les presents [cer]tifficam per ço que sens alcun dubte donets e atorguets licència e plen poder a aquell de usar e practicar de la dita art de físicha. *Data Valentie tricesima et ultima die mensis septembris anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC°. LXX°.octavo.*

Et presentada la damunt dita letra, lo dit Iach Çarrochel.la requerí lo dit honrat j[ustícia] que li donàs licència de usar e pratichar en la dita c[iu]tat, vil.l[es] e lochs del r[eg]ne de València de la dita art // de físicha, e no-res-menys que li manàs ésser feyta letra [a uni]verses e sengles officials e loch de senyoria tinents dins lo dit regne de València constituïts, que d'ací avant hagen per metge de físicha lo dit Iach Çarrochel.la e de la dita art lo lexen usar e pratichar sens alcun contrast o embarch e sens alcuna pena.

Et lo dit honrat justícia, vista e regoneguda la damunt dita letra e coses per lo dit Içach proposades e requestes, de consell de son assessor, rehebut primerament e abans sagrament de aquell sobre los deu manaments de la ley, los quals nostre senyor Déus donà a Moysés en lo mont de Senahí, de fer e ser[var] les coses contengudes e expresades en lo fur nou del rey N'Amfós, en rúbrica "De metges," los capítols .VI. e .VII., les quals li foren lests de mot a mot e donats a entendre, donà e atorgà licència al dit Içach Çarrochel.la de usar e practicar de la dita art de medicina en les ciutats, viles e lochs del regne de València sens temor de alcuna pena. Et no-res-menys lo dit honrat justícia, a instància e requisició del dit Içach Çarrochel.la, manà ésser feyta a aquell la letra dejús següent:

Als honrats universes e sengles officials e loch de senyoria tinents dins lo regne de València constituïts, e a cascun de aquells, als quals la present pervendrà. De nós, En Martí Fuster, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. Salut e honor. Per tenor de les presents vos significam que Içach Çarrochel.la, juheu de la juheria de la dita ciutat de València, metge de físicha, és estat examinat per los honrats e discrets maestre Jacme Mederes, maestre en arts e en medicina, e En Francesch Cambres, maestre en arts e licenciat en medicina, metges de la ciutat sobredita, examinadors deputats e assignats per nós e per los honrats jurats de la ciutat sobredita de tots los metges de físicha e de cirurgia vinents novellament per pratichar [en] la dita ciutat, viles [e] lochs del dit regne, per los quals lo dit Içach Çar[rochel.la] és estat // trobat abte e sufficient de usar e pratichar de la art de medicina, segons que [a nós] és cert per letra dels dits examinadors, per lo dit Içach Çarrochel.la a nós presentada *que data fuit Valentie .XXXI°. die mensis septembris anni presentis et infrascripta*; per la qual cosa nós, reebut de aquell primerament e abans sagrament sobre los deu manaments de la lig que nostre senyor Déu donà a Moyssé en lo mont de Senay, per la man dreita de aquell corporalment tocats, segons forma de fur, que bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de físicha, havem donat e atorgat a aquell

licència de usar e pratichar en les dites ciutats, viles e lochs del regne de València de la dita art de físicha sens temor de alcuna pena. E.n testimoni de veritat, manam li n'èsser feta la present carta testimonial ab lo sagell del nostre offici en pendent sagellada. *Data Valentie undecima die octobris anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC°.LXX°. octavo. Subscripsit Iacobus.*

* * *

In the year of our Lord 1378, at terce on Monday the 11th of October, before the honorable Martí Fuster, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, there appeared Içach Çaroxel.la, a Jew of the said city, who presented a letter from the honorable master Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Francesch Cambres, master in arts and licentiate in medicine (practitioners of the said city, examiners appointed by the honorable *jurats* of the aforementioned city), written on paper, open, and sealed in red wax with the two seals of the said examiners, whose tenor is as follows:

To the honorable civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, or his lieutenant; from us, Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Francesch Cambres, master in arts and licentiate in medicine, practitioners of the said city, examiners appointed by the honorable justiciar and *jurats* of the said city of all the practitioners of physic and surgery newly arrived to practice in the aforesaid city and towns of the kingdom of Valencia; health and honor. By the tenor of these presents we inform you that Yçach Çarrochel.la, a Jew of the said city, appeared before us and, wishing to practice the art of physic in the city, towns, and villages of the said kingdom, has been examined by us in the manner prescribed by the *fur*; and we have found him competent by long and satisfactory experience to practice the said art of physic; wherefore, at the request of the above-named Yçach Çarrochella [for a certification] of his competence, we certify to you by these presents that beyond any doubt you may grant him license to practice the said art of surgery.

Given at Valencia the thirtieth and last day of September, 1378 AD.

When the said letter had been presented, the said Içach Çarrochel.la requested the said honorable justiciar that he grant him a license to practice the art of physic in the said city, towns, and villages of the kingdom of Valencia, and furthermore to draw up a letter for him to each and every official in the said kingdom of Valencia that from henceforth they acknowledge the said Içach Çarrochel.la as a practitioner of physic, and that they allow him to practice the said art without any let or hindrance and without any penalty.

Upon considering the aforesaid letter and the things requested by the said Içach, the said honorable justiciar, on the advice of his assessor, first received an oath from him on the ten commandments of the law that our Lord God gave to Moses on Mount Sinai, to obey every-

thing laid down in the new *fur* of King Alfons under the rubric “De metges,” chapters 6 and 7, which were read to him word by word so that he could understand them; and granted the said Içach Çarrochel.la license to practice the said art of medicine in the cities, towns, and villages of the said kingdom of Valencia, without fear of any penalty. And furthermore at the request of the said Içach Çarrochel.la the said honorable justiciar ordered the following certificate to be drawn up:

To all officials in the kingdom of Valencia to whom these presents may come; from us, Marti Fuster, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and honor. We make known to you by the tenor of these presents that Içach Çarrochel.la, a Jew from the Jewry of the said city of Valencia, practitioner of physic, has been examined by the honorable masters Jacme Mederes, master in arts and in medicine, and Francesch Cambres, master in arts and licentiate in medicine, practitioners of the aforesaid city and examiners appointed by us and by the honorable *jurats* of the aforesaid city of all the practitioners of physic and surgery newly arrived to practice in the said city, towns, and villages of the kingdom of Valencia; by whom the said Içach Çarrochel.la has been found to be apt and competent to employ and practice the said art of medicine, as certified to us by a letter from the said examiners presented to us by the said Içach Çarrochel.la, “which is given at Valencia, the 31st day of the month of September of the present year.” Whereupon we—having first received from him an oath on the ten commandments of the law that our Lord God gave to Moses on Mount Sinai, while he touched them physically with his right hand, that he would well and loyally engage in the said art of medicine, have granted him license to practice the said art of physic in the said cities, towns, and villages of the kingdom of Valencia, without fear of any penalty. In testimony of the truth we have ordered the present certificate to be drawn up for him, sealed with the seal of our office appended.

Given at Valencia, the 11th day of October, 1378 AD. Subscribed by Jacobus.

5

Valencia, 19 October 1378.

Grant of a license to practice surgery in Valencia and its kingdom to the Valencian Andreu Gras (ARV, Justícia Civil [Lletres], 391, s. fol.).

Anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC^o.LXX^o. octavo, die martis que fuit .XIX^a. mensis octobris. Comparech davant l'onrat micer Jacme Forner, doctor en leys, assessor e lochtinent de l'honrat En Marti Fuster, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, N'Andreu Gras, ciutadà de la dita ciutat, cirurgia, e presentà a aquell una letra dels honrats e discrets En Jacme Maderes, maestre en arts e en medicina, e En Francesch Cambres, maestre en arts e licenciat en medicina, metges de

la dita ciutat, examinadors deputats e assignats per los honrats justícia e jurats de la ciutat damunt dita de tots los metges de física e de cirurgia vinents novellament per praticar en la dita ciutat e viles del regne de València, en paper escrita, uberta, e dins aquella ab dos sagells dels dits examinadors en cera vermella sagellada, la tenor de la qual és segons que.s segueix:

A l'honrat e discret lo justícia civil de la ciutat de València, o a son lochtinent. De nós, En Jacme Maderes, mestre en arts e en medicina, e En Francesch Cambres, mestre en arts e licenciat en medicina, metges de la dita ciutat, examinadors deputats e assignats per los honrats justícia [e] jurats de la dita ciutat de tots los metges de física e de cirurgia vi[nen]ts n[ovel]lament per praticar en la dita ciu[tat e] viles del regne de València. Salut e honor. A la discreció de vós per tenor de les presents certifficam ésser comparegut denant nós N'Andreu Gras, ciutadà de la dita ciutat, lo qual, volent usar de art de cirurgia dins les ciutat, viles e lochs del dit regne, és estat per nós examinat segons forma de fur e havem aquell atrobat apte e sufficient per longa e ap[ro]vada experiència de usar e praticar de la dita art de cirurgia, per què, instant e requirient lo dessús dit N'Andreu Gras de la sua suffici[èn]cia, per les presents certifficam per ço q[ue] se[un]s alcun dubte donets [e] atorguets licència e plen poder a aquell de usar e praticar de la dita art de cirurgia. *Data Valentie .XIIII^a. die mensis octobris anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC^o.LXX^o.VIII^o.*

Et presentada la di[ta] letr[ia], lo dit [N'A]ndreu Gras requerí de paraula lo dit // honrat lochtinent de justícia que li donàs licència de usar e praticar de la art de cirurgia en la dita ciutat, viles e lochs del regne de València, com fos apparellat fer tot ço que per fur de València fos tengut e astret de fer, requirén encara que letra li fos manada fer a universes e sengles oficials e lochs de senyoria tinents dins lo dit regne de València constituïts, que al dit N'Andreu Gras hajan e tinguen d'açí avant per metge de cirurgia e que de la dita art de cirurgia lo lexen usar e praticar sens temor de alcuna pena e sens alcun contrast o embarch.

Et lo dit honrat lochtinent de justícia, vista e regoneguda la damunt dita letra e les coses en aquella expressades, e hoïdes e enteses les coses per lo dit N'Andreu Gras requestes, de continent reebre (sic) sagrament del dit N'Andreu Gras sobre los sants quatre Evangelis de nostre senyor Déu, de la man drete de aquell corporalment to[cat]s, que bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de cirurgia e de f[er] tot ço que per fur nou del rey N'Amfós fos e sostengut, donà e atorgà a aquell licència de usar e praticar de la dita art de cirurgia per la dita ciutat, viles e lochs del regne de València [sens] temor de alcuna pena. Et no-res-menys, instant e requirient lo dit N'Andreu Gras, manà ésser feyta la letra següent:

Als honrats e universes e sengles oficials e loch de senyoria tinents dins lo regne de València constituïts als quals la present pervendrà, e a cascun de aquells e a lurs lochtinents. De nós, En Jacme Forner, doctor en leys, asses-

[sor] e lochtinent [de] l'honrat En Martí Fuster, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. Salut e honor. A la saviea e discreció d[e] cascun de] vós per tenor de les presents significam que N'Andreu Gras, ciutadà de València, cirurgià, és estat examinat per los honrats e discrets maestre Jacme Maderes, maestre en arts e en medicina, e En Francesch Cambres, maestre en arts // e licenciat en medicina, metges de la ciutat dessus dita, examinadors deputats e assignats per los honrats justícia e jurats de la dita ciutat de tots los metges de física e de cirurgia vinents novellament per practicar en la dita ciutat, viles e lochs del dit regne de València, per los quals lo dit N'Andreu Gras és estat atrobat abte e sufficient de usar e practicar de la dita art de cirurgia, segons que a nós és cert per letra dels dits examinadors per lo dit N'Andreu Gras a nós en lo present dia de huy, data de la present, presentada, la tenor de la qual és segons que.s segueix: "A l'honrat e discret lo justícia civil de la ciutat de València, etc." *Inseratur ut est supra*. Aprés presentació de la qual, reebut per nós primerament e abans sacrament del dit N'Andreu q[ue], segons forma de fur nou del rey N'Amfós posat sots rúbrica "De metges," que bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de cirurgia e fer ço que per lo dit fur és ordenat, havem atorgat e [a]torgada llicència a aquell de usar e pra[ct]icar en la dita ciutat, viles e lochs d[el] dit regne de València, de la [dita art] de cirurgia sens temor de alcuna pena. En testimoni de la qual [cosa manam] li n'esser feta la present carta testimonial ab lo sagell del nostre offi[ci] en] pendent ab çera vermella sagellada. *Data Valentie .XIX^a. die mensis octobris anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC^o.LXX^o. octavo.*

* * *

In the year of our Lord 1378, on Tuesday the 19th of October, before the honorable Jacme Forner, doctor of laws, assessor and lieutenant of the honorable Martí Fuster, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, there appeared Andreu Gras, a citizen of the said city, surgeon, who presented him with a letter from the honorable Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Francesch Cambres, master in arts and licentiate in medicine, practitioners of the said city, examiners appointed by the honorable justiciar and *jurats* of the aforementioned city of all those practitioners of medicine and surgery newly arrived to practice in the said city and towns of the kingdom of Valencia, written on paper, open, and sealed in red wax on the back with the two seals of the said examiners, whose tenor is as follows:

To the honorable civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, or his lieutenant; from us, Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Francesch de Cambres, master in arts and licentiate in medicine, practitioners of the said city, examiners appointed by the honorable justiciar and *jurats* of the said city of all the practitioners of physic and surgery newly arrived to practice in the aforesaid city and towns of the kingdom of Valencia; health and honor. By the tenor of these presents we inform you that Andreu Gras, a citizen of this city, appeared before us and, wishing to practice the art of surgery in the city, towns, and villages of the said kingdom, has been examined by us in the manner

prescribed by the *fur*; and we have well and carefully examined him and have found him competent by long and satisfactory experience to practice the said art of surgery; wherefore, at the request of the above-named Andreu Gras [for a certification] of his competence, we certify to you by these presents that beyond any doubt you may grant him license to practice the said art of surgery.

Given at Valencia the fourteenth day of October, 1378 AD.

When the said letter had been presented, the said Andreu Gras requested orally that the said honorable lieutenant justiciar grant him a license to practice the art of surgery in the said city, towns, and villages of the kingdom of Valencia, since he was prepared to do all that he was required to do by the *fur* of Valencia, and also requested that a letter be ordered drawn up for him to each and every official in the said kingdom of Valencia that from henceforth they acknowledge the said Andreu Gras as a practitioner of surgery, and that they allow him to practice the said art of surgery without fear of any penalty and without any let or hindrance.

Upon considering the said letter and the things contained in it, and upon hearing the requests made by the said Andreu Gras, the said honorable lieutenant justiciar thereupon received an oath from the said Andreu Gras on the four holy Gospels of our Lord God, while he physically touched them with his right hand, that he would engage well and loyally in the said art of surgery, and that he would do all that is required by the new *fur* of King Alfons, and granted him license to practice the said art of surgery in the said city, towns, and villages of the said kingdom of Valencia, without fear of any penalty. And furthermore at the request of the said Andreu Gras he ordered the following certificate to be drawn up:

To all officials in the kingdom of Valencia to whom these presents may come, and to each of them or their lieutenants; from us, Jacme Forner, doctor of laws, assessor and lieutenant of the honorable Martí Fuster, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and honor. We make it known to you by the tenor of these presents that Andreu Gras, citizen of Valencia, surgeon, has been examined by the honorable master Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Francesch Cambres, master in arts and licentiate in medicine, practitioners of the aforesaid city and examiners appointed by the honorable justiciar and *jurats* of the said city of all the practitioners of physic and surgery newly arrived to practice in the said city, towns, and villages of the kingdom of Valencia; and that they have found the said Andreu Gras to be competent to practice the said art of surgery, as certified to us by a letter from the said examiners presented to us today by the said Andreu Gras, dated today, whose tenor is as follows: "To the honorable civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, etc. . . ." (here let it be inserted as above). And after this was presented—having first received an oath from the said Andreu that he would well and loyally engage in the said art of surgery according to the terms of the new *fur* of King Alfons under the rubric "De metges," and would do all that is commanded by the said *fur*, have granted him license to practice the said art of surgery in the said city, towns, and villages of the said kingdom of Valencia,

without fear of any penalty. In testimony of which thing we have ordered the present certificate to be drawn up for him, sealed in red wax with the seal of our office appended.

Given at Valencia, the 19th day of October, 1378 AD.

6

Valencia, 27 October 1378.

Içach Gabriel, a Jew of Valencia, receives a license to practice medicine in Valencia and its kingdom (ARV, Justícia Civil [Lletres], 391, s. fol.).

Anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC°.LXX°. octavo, die mercurii que fuit .XXVII. mensis octobris. Comparech davant l'onrat En Martí Fuster, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, Içach Grabiell (sic), juheu de la ciutat damunt dita, metge de físicha, e presentà a aquell una letra dels honrats e discrets En Jacme Maderes, mestre en arts e en medicina, e En Francesch de Cambres, mestre en arts e licenciat en medicina, ciutadans de la ciutat dessus dita, examinadors per nós e per los honrats jurats de la sobredita ciutat en l'any present deputats e assignats a examinar los metges que novellament en la ciutat e regne damunt dit volran usar e practicar de art de física e de cirurgia, en paper escrita, uberta, e dins aquella sagellada ab dos sagells de aquells en çera vermella, la tenor de la qual és segons que.s segueix:

A l'honrat e discret lo justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, o a son lochtinent. En Jacme Maderes, mestre en arts e en medicina, e.N Francesch de Cambre(s), mestre en arts e licenciat en medicina, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, examinadors per los honrats senyors justí[cia] e jurats de la dita ciutat en l'any present deputats e assignats a examinar los metges que novellament en la ciutat e regne damunt dit volran usar de et practicar de la sciència e art de física e de cirurgia. Salut e honor. A la discreció de vós per tenor de les presents certificam ésser comparegut denant nós Issach Gabriel, juheu de la dita ciutat, lo qual, volent usar e practicar de art de física dins la ciutat, viles e lochs del dit regne, s'és sotsmés al nostre examen, e nós aquell havem examinat bé e diligentment, segons fur, e aquell Issach havem atrobat en los principis de la dita sciència de física introduhit, emperò ab la pràtica de [cu]rrar les malalties no ha longament praticat ni usat. E axí certificam que, quant en malaltia fort e gran serà demanat per practicar, si ja altre metge no y haurie primer, que ell sie tengut de demanar altre físich sufficient e antich en pràtica en acompanyat, // si serà en loch que haver-lo pusque, e per ell en demanar mostrat. E sobre açò reebats primerament e abans del dit Issach sa[gra]ment sobre los .X. manaments, que bé e felment e leyal se haurà e practicarà en la manera e forma desús dita de la dita [sciència] de física, per què, instant e requirent lo desús dit Issach de la sua suficiència, per les presents certificam per ço que sens alcun dupte donets e atorguets llicència e plen poder a.que[ll] de usar e practicar en la manera e forma [desús dita] de la dita art de física. *Data Valentie .XVII°. die [mensis] septembris anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC°.LXXVIII°.*

Et presentada la damunt dita letra, lo dit Içach Grabiell requeri de paraula lo dit honrat justícia que li donàs e atorgàs licència de usar e practicar de la dita art de física dins la ciutat, viles e lochs del regne de València, com fos apparellat fer tot ço que per fur de València fos tengut e astret de fer, requirén encara que letra li fos atorgada e manada ésser feyta a universes e sengles oficials e lochs de senyoria tinents dins lo dit regne de València constituïts, que d'ací avant hajen e tinguen lo dit Içach Grabiell per metge de física e que de la dita art de física lo lexen usar e practicar sens temor de alcuna pena, e sens alcun contrast o embarch.

Et lo dit honrat justícia, vista e regoneguda la damunt dita letra e coses en aquella expressades, e hoïdes e enteses les coses per lo dit Içach Grabiell de paraula requestes, de continent reebé sagrament del dit Içach Grabiell sobre los deu manaments de la lig que nostre senyor Déu donà a Moysés en lo munt de Sinaý, per la man dreita de aquell corporalment tocats, per que bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de física e de fer tot ço que per fur nou del rey N'Amfós fos e sia tengut fer e segons continència e manera en la letra dels [dits examina]dors con[ten]guda, donà e atorgà a aquell licència de usar e // practicar de la dita art de física en la dita ciutat, viles e lochs del dit regne de València sens temor de alcuna pena. Et no-res-menys manà ésser feyta a aquell la letra testimonial següent:

Als honrats universes e sengles oficials e loch de senyoria tinents dins lo regne de València constituïts als quals la present pervindrà, o a lurs loch-tinents. De nós, En Martí Fuster, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. Salut e honor. A la discreció de cascun de vós per tenor de les presents significam que Içach Grabiell, metge de física, vehín de la dita ciutat, és estat examinat per los honrats e discrets En Jacme Maderes, mestre en arts e en medicina, e En Francesch Cambres, mestre en arts e licenciat en medicina, metges de la dita ciutat, examinadors per nós e per los honrats jurats de la ciutat sobredita en l'any present diputats e assignats a examinar los metges que novellament en la ciutat e regne dessús dit volran usar e practicar de la sciència e art de física e de cirurgia, per los quals lo dit Içach Grabiell és estat atrobat abte e sufficient de usar e practicar de la dita art de física, segons que a nós és cert per letra dels dits examinadors per lo dit Içach Grabiell en lo present dia de huy, data de la present, a nós presentada, la qual és de la tenor següent: "A l'honrat e discret lo justícia, etc." *Inseratur ut est supra*. Aprés presentació de la qual, reebut per nós de aquell primerament e abans sagrament sobre les deu manaments de la lig que nostre senyor Déu donà a Moysés en lo mont de Sinaý, que, segons forma de fur nou del rey N'Amfós posat sots rúbrica "De metges," bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de física, e fer tot ço als que per l[lo] d[dit] fur és ordenat, e sots virtut del dit sagrament ha promés que sí que entrevedrà en malaltia fort o gran, que ell demanarà altre físich sufficient e antich en pràtica en acompanyat, si serà en loch que aquell haver pogués, e que per ell mostràs en demanar aquell, havem atorgat e donat a aquell licència de usar e practicar de la dita art de medicina en la dita ciutat, viles e lochs del dit regne de València sens temor de alcuna pena. En testimoni de la qual cosa

manam li n'ésser feta la presenta (*sic*) carta testimonial ab lo sagell del nostre offici ab çera groga e vermella en pendent sagellada. *Data Valentie .XXVII^a. die octobris anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC^o.LXX^o. octavo. Subscripsit Iacobus.*

* * *

In the year of our Lord 1378, on Wednesday the 27th of October, before the honorable Martí Fuster, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, there appeared Içach Grabiél (*sic*), a Jew of the aforesaid city, a practitioner of physic, who presented him with a letter from the honorable Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Francesch de Cambres, master in arts and licentiate in medicine, citizens of the aforesaid city, examiners appointed by us and by the honorable *jurats* of the aforementioned city for the current year to examine those practitioners who wish to begin to practice the art of physic and surgery in the city and kingdom aforesaid, written on paper, open, and sealed in red wax with their two seals, whose tenor is as follows:

To the honorable civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, or his lieutenant; Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Francesch de Cambre, master in arts and licentiate in medicine, citizens of the said city, examiners appointed by the honorable justiciar and *jurats* of the said city for the current year to examine all those practitioners who wish to begin to practice the science and art of physic and surgery in the aforesaid city and kingdom; health and honor. By the tenor of these presents we inform you that Issach Gabriel, a Jew of the said city, appeared before us who, wishing to practice the art of physic in the city, submitted himself to our examination; and we have examined him carefully in the manner prescribed by the *fur*; and we have found the said Issach acquainted with the principles of the said science of physic, but he has not long been involved in the practice of treating illnesses. Thus we require that when he is summoned to treat a severe illness, if there is not already another practitioner there, he be required to summon another competent and long-practiced physician to join him, if he can find one, and show that he has done so. And having first received an oath on the Ten Commandments from the said Issach that he would well, faithfully, and loyally engage in the said science of physic and practice in the manner specified above, at the request of the above-named Issach [for a certification] of his competence, we certify to you by these presents that beyond any doubt you may grant him license to practice the said art of surgery in the manner specified above.

Given at Valencia the seventeenth day of September, 1378 AD.

When the said letter had been presented, the said Içach Grabiél orally requested that the said honorable justiciar grant him a license to practice the said art of physic in the city, towns, and villages of the kingdom of Valencia, since he was prepared to do all that he was required to do by the *fur* of Valencia, and asked also that a letter be drawn up for him to each and every official in the said kingdom of Valencia that from henceforth they acknowledge the said Içach Grabiél

as a practitioner of physic, and that they allow him to practice the said art without any penalty and without any let or hindrance.

Having read the aforesaid letter and the things stated in it, and having heard the requests made orally by the said Içach Grabiell, the said honorable justiciar then took an oath from the said Içach Grabiell on the ten commandments of the law that our Lord God gave to Moses on Mount Sinai, which he touched physically with his right hand, to engage well and loyally in the said art of physic and to do everything commanded by the new *fur* of King Alfons and in the manner set out in the letter of the said examiners; and granted him license to practice the said art of medicine in the said city, towns, and villages of the said kingdom of Valencia, without fear of any penalty. And furthermore he ordered the following certificate to be drawn up:

To all officials in the kingdom of Valencia to whom these presents may come, or to their lieutenants; from us, Martí Fuster, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and honor. We make it known by the tenor of these presents that Içach Grabiell, a practitioner of physic, an inhabitant of the said city, has been examined by the honorable Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Francesch Cambres, master in arts and licentiate in medicine, practitioners of the said city and examiners appointed by us and by the honorable *jurats* of the aforesaid city to examine the practitioners who wish to begin to practice the science and art of physic and surgery in the city and kingdom aforementioned; by whom the said Içach Grabiell has been found to be competent to practice the said art of physic, as certified to us by a letter from the said examiners presented to us by the said Içach Grabiell today, as dated below, whose tenor is as follows: "To the honorable justiciar, etc." (let it be inserted as above). When this had been presented, we—having first received from him an oath on the ten commandments of the law that our Lord God gave to Moses on Mount Sinai that, in the manner prescribed by the new *fur* of King Alfons under the rubric "De metges," he would well and loyally engage in the said art of medicine and do everything commanded by the said *fur*, and by the same oath promised that if he should encounter a severe illness he would summon another competent and long-practiced physician to accompany him, if he can find one, and show that he has done so—have granted him license to practice the said art of physic in the said city, towns, and villages of the said kingdom of Valencia, without fear of any penalty. In testimony of which we have ordered the present certificate to be drawn up for him, sealed with the seal of our office appended in yellow and red wax.

Given at Valencia, the 27th day of October, 1378 AD. Subscribed by Jacobus.

Valencia, 27 November 1378.

Sisto Fort, surgeon of Valencia, receives a license to practice surgery in Valencia and its kingdom (ARV, Justicia Civil [Lletres] 391, s. fol.).

Anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC°.LXX°. octavo, die sabbati hora tertiarum que fuit .XXVII°. mensis novembris. Comparech davant l'onrat En Martí Fuster, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, En Sisto Fort, cirúrgich, habitant en la dita ciutat, e presentà a aquell una letra dels honrats e discrets En Jacme Maderes, maestre en arts e en medicina, e En Francesch de Cambres, maestre en arts e licenciat en medicina, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, examinadors en l'any present diputats a examinar los metges que novellament en la ciutat e regne damunt dits voldran usar e practicar de sciència e art de físicha e de cirurgia, en paper escrita, uberta, e dins aquella ab dos sagells dels dits examinadors en çera vermella sagellada, la tenor de la qual és segons que.s segueix:

A l'honrat e discret lo justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, o a son lochtinent. En Jacme Maderes, mestre en arts e en medecina, e En Francesch de Cambres, mestre en arts e licenciat en medecina, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, examinadors per los honrats senyors justícia e jurats de la dita ciutat en l'any present diputats a [ex]aminar los metges que novellament en la ciutat e regne damunt dits volrran usar e practicar de sciència de art de física e de cirurgia. Salut e honor. A la discreció de vós per tenor de les presents certificam ésser comparegut denant nós En Sisto Fort, habitador de la ciutat, lo qual, volens usar de art de cirurgia dins la ciutat, viles e lochs del dit regne, s'és sotsmés al nostre examen, e nós aquell avem examinat bé e diligentment e aquell haviem trobat apte e suficient, per longa e aprovada [experi]ència de usar e practicar de la dita art de cirurgia; certificam, emperò, que en feyt de pronasticació o desospitació davant lo justícia criminal faedora dels nafrats que curarà, si de les nafres deuen morir o no, o si romandran debilitats en los membres, lo dit En Sisto Fort deja demanar algun fís[i]ch apte e suficient en acompanyat; e vós rebets primerament e abans del dit En Sisto sacrament que bé, feelment [e] leal se haurà e usarà de la dita art de cirurgia. Per què, instant [e] requirient [lo desús dit En] Sisto Fort de la sua suficiència, per les presents certificam per [ço] que sens algun dupte donets e atorguets licència et plen poder a aquell de usar [e] practicar de la dita art de cirurgia. *Data Valentie tertia die octobris anno a nativitate Domini .M°.CCC°.LXX°.VIII°.*

Et presentada la damunt dita letra, lo dit maestre Sisto Fort requerí de paraula lo dit honrat justícia que li donàs e atorgàs licència de usar e praticar dins la ciutat de València, viles e lochs del regne de aquella, com se proferís apparellat de fer tot ço que per fur de València fos tengut e stret de fer, requirén encara que letra li fos manada ésser feta e liurada a universes e sengles oficials e loch de senyoria tinents dins lo dit regne de València constituïts, que d'açí avant aguessen e tinguen per metge de cirurgia lo dit maestre Sisto Fort, e que de la dita art de cirurgia lo lehasen usar e practicar sens temor de alcuna pena, e sens alcun contrast o embarch.

Et encontinent lo dit honrat justícia, vista e regoneguda la dita letra dels dits honrats examinadors dessús presentada, e les coses en aque-

Ila expressades, e hoïdes les coses per lo dit maestre Sisto Fort de paraula requestes, de consell de son assessor reebé sacrament del dit maestre Sisto Fort sobre los sants quatre Evangelis de nostre senyor Déu, de la man drete d'aquell corporalment tocats, que bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de cirurgia, e fer tot ço que per fur nou del rey N'Amfós fos e sia tengut fer, e segons continència e manera de la dita letra dels dits examinadors, donà e atorgà a aquell licència de usar e practicar de la dita art de cirurgia en la dita ciutat, vil·les e lochs del dit regne sens temor de alcuna pena. Et no-res-menys manà ésser feta a aquell la letra infrasegüent:

Als honrats universes e sengles oficials e loch de senyoria tinents dins lo regne de València constituïts als quals la present pervendrà, e a cascun d'aquells o a lurs lochtinents. De nós, En Martí Fuster, justícia justícia (*sic*) de la ciutat de València en lo civil. Salut e honor. A la discreció de cascun de vós per tenor de les presents significam [que maestre] Sisto Fort, cirúrgich de la dita ciutat, és estat examinat per [los hon]rats e discrets En Jacme Maderes, maestre en arts e en medicina, e En // Francesch Cambres, maestre en arts e licenciati en medicina, metges de la dita ciutat e examinadors per nós e per los honrats jurats de la ciutat sobredita en l'any present diputats e assignats a examinar los metges que novellament en la ciutat e regne dessus dit volran usar e practicar de la sciència e art de físicha e de cirurgia, per los quals lo dit maestre Sisto Fort és estat atrobat [abte e] sufficient de usar e praticar de la dita art de cirurgia, segons que a nós és cert per letra dels dits examinadors per lo dit maestre Sisto Fort en lo present dia de huy, data de la present, a nós presentada, la qual és de la tenor següent: "A l'honrat e discret lo justícia, etc." *Inseratur ut est supra*. Aprés presentació de la qual, reebut per nós primerament e abans sacrament del dit maestre Sisto Fort sobre los sants quatre Evangelis de nostre senyor Déu, de la man drete de aquell corporalment tocats, que, segons forma de fur nou del rey N'Amfós posat sots rúbrica "De metges," bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de cirurgia, e fer tot ço als que per lo dit fur és ordenat; e segons forma de la dita e preinserta letra, havem atorgat e donada al dit maestre Sisto Fort licència de usar e practicar de la dita art de cirurgia en la dita ciutat, viles e lochs del dit regne de València sens temor de alcuna pena. [En] testimoni de la qual cosa manam li n'ésser feta la present carta testimonial [ab lo sagell] del nostre offici en pendent ab cera groga e vermella sagellada. *Data Valentie [.XXVII^o.] die novembris anno a natiuitate Domini millesimo .CCC^o.LXX^o. octavo.*

* * *

In the year of our Lord 1378, at the hour of terce on Saturday the 27th of November, before the honorable Martí Fuster, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, there appeared Sisto Fort, surgeon, an inhabitant of the said city, who presented him with a letter from the honorable Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Francesch de Cambres, master in arts and licentiate in medicine, citizens of the said city, examiners for the current year named to examine those practitioners who wish to begin to practice the science and art of physic and

surgery in the aforesaid city and kingdom, written on paper, open, and sealed in red wax on the back with the two seals of the said examiners, whose tenor is as follows:

To the honorable civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, or his lieutenant; Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Francesch de Cambres, master in arts and licentiate in medicine, citizens of the said city, examiners appointed by the honorable justiciar and *jurats* of the said city to examine practitioners who wish to begin to practice the science and art of physic and surgery in the aforesaid city and kingdom; health and honor. By the tenor of these presents we inform you that Sisto Fort, an inhabitant of this city, appeared before us and, wishing to practice the art of surgery in the city, towns, and villages of the said kingdom, submitted himself to our examination; and we have carefully examined him and have found him competent by long and satisfactory experience to practice the said art of surgery; however, we specify that in prognostic judgments before the criminal justiciar concerning wounds that he is treating, whether his patients will die from their wounds or not, or whether they will remain weakened in their members, the said Sisto Fort must be accompanied by another competent physician; and you should first of all receive an oath from the said Sisto that he will well, faithfully, and loyally engage in the said art of surgery. Wherefore, at the request of the above-named Sisto Fort [for a certification] of his competence, we certify to you by these presents that beyond doubt you may grant him license to practice the said art of surgery.

Given at Valencia the third day of October, 1378 AD.

When the said letter had been presented, the said master Sisto Fort requested orally that the said honorable justiciar grant him a license to practice in the city of Valencia, and the towns and villages of its kingdom, since he was prepared to do all that he was required to do by the *fur* of Valencia, and also requested that a letter be ordered drawn up for him to each and every official in the said kingdom of Valencia that from henceforth they acknowledge the said Sisto Fort as a practitioner of surgery, and that they allow him to practice the said art of surgery without fear of any penalty and without any let or hindrance.

Immediately upon receiving the said letter presented above from the said honorable examiners, and the things contained in it, and upon hearing the requests made orally by the said master Sisto Fort, upon the advice of his assessor the said honorable justiciar received an oath from the said master Sisto Fort on the four holy Gospels of our Lord God, while he physically touched them with his right hand, that he would engage well and loyally in the said art of surgery, and that he would do all that is required by the new *fur* of King Alfons, and according to the terms of the said letter from the said examiners; and granted him license to practice the said art of surgery in the said city, towns, and villages of the said kingdom, without fear of any penalty. And furthermore he ordered the following certificate to be drawn up for him:

To all officials in the kingdom of Valencia to whom these presents may come, and to each of them or their lieutenants; from us, Martí Fuster, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and honor. We make it known to each of you by the tenor of these presents that master Sisto Fort, surgeon of the said city, has been examined by the honorable Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Francesch Cambres, master of arts and licentiate in medicine, practitioners of the said city and examiners appointed for the current year by us and by the honorable *jurats* of the above-mentioned city to examine those practitioners who wish to begin to practice the science and art of physic and surgery in the said city and kingdom; and that they have found the said master Sisto Fort to be competent to practice the said art of surgery, as certified to us by a letter from the said examiners presented to us today by the said master Sisto Fort, dated as below, whose tenor is as follows: "To the honorable justiciar, etc." (here let it be inserted as above). And after this was presented—having first received an oath from the said master Sisto Fort on the four holy Gospels of our Lord God, while he touched them physically with his right hand, that he would well and loyally engage in the said art of surgery according to the terms of the new *fur* of King Alfons under the rubric "De metges," and would do all that is commanded by the said *fur* and according to the terms of the said letter inserted above, have granted the said master Sisto Fort license to practice the said art of surgery in the said city, towns, and villages of the said kingdom of Valencia, without fear of any penalty. In testimony of which thing we have ordered the present certificate to be drawn up for him, sealed in yellow and red wax with the seal of our office appended.

Given at Valencia, the 27th day of November, 1378 AD.

8

Valencia, 23 December 1378.

Hizmel Morcat, a Jew of Valencia, is authorized to practice medicine and surgery in Valencia and its kingdom (ARV, Justícia Civil [Lletres], 391, s. fol.).

Anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC^o.LXX^o. octavo, die iovis hora vesperorum que fuit .XXIII^a. mensis decembris. Comparech davant l'onrat micer Jacme Forner, doctor en leys, tinent loch de l'honrat En Martí Fuster, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, Hizmel Morcat, juheu de la juheria de la dita ciutat, e presentà a aquell una letra dels honrats e discrets En Jacme Maderes, maestre en arts e en medicina, e En Francesch de Cambres, maestre en arts e licenciati en medicina, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, examinadors per los honrats justícia [e] jurats de la dita ciutat en l'any present, en paper escrita, uberta, e dins aquella sagellada ab dors (*sic*) sagells dels dits examinadors, la tenor de la qual letra és segons que.s segueix:

A l'honrat e discret lo justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, o a son lochtinent. En Jacme Mederes, maestre en arts e en medicina, e En Francesch

de Cambres, mestre en arts e lecciat en medicina, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, examinadors per los honrats senyors justícia e jurats de la dita ciutat en l'any present diputats a examinar los m[etges] que novellament en la ciutat e regne de València volran usar e practicar de sciència e art de física e de cirurgia. Salut e honor. A la discreció de vós per tenor de les presents certifficam ésser comparegut denant nós Hizmel Morcat, juheu, habitador de la dita ciutat, lo qual, volent usar e practicar de art de física e de cirurgia [dins la] ciu[tat], viles e lochs del dit regne, sosmés al nostre examen, e nós aquell havem examinat bé e diligentment segons que és acostumat, e aquell dit Huzmel havem atrobat sufficient de usar e practicar de la dita art de cirurgia; attenén emperò que en la sciència de físicha ell longament no ha estudiat, ja[tsia] haja practicat en malalties requirents sciència de físicha, per ço certifficam a vós com ell serà demanat en les malalties forts e grans les quals sciència de física serà necessària, que ell sia tengut de menar un físich suficient e abte e antich en speculativa en accompany[nat], si serà en loch que haver-la (*sic*) puscha, e ja per ell en deman[ar mo]strarà. Et sobre açò reebats primerament ab[ans del dit] Hizmel sagrament sobre los deu ma//naments e axí mateix que bé, fellment e leal se haurà, usarà e practicarà de la dita art de física e de cirurgia; per què, instant e requirent [lo] desús dit Huzmel de la sua suficiència, per les presents vos certifficam per ço que sens alcun dupte donets e atorguets llicència e plen poder a aquell de usar e practicar de la dita art de física e de cirurgia en la manera e forma desús dita. *Data Valentie quartadecima die mensis novembris anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC°.LXX°. octavo.*

Et presentada la damunt dita letra, lo dit I[zmel Mor]cat requerí de paraula lo dit honrat lochtinent de justícia que li donàs e atorgàs llicència de usar e practicar de la dita art de físicha e de cirurgia dins la dita ciutat, viles e lochs del regne de València, com ell fos aparellat de fer tot ço que per fur de València fos tengut e astret de fer, requirén encara que letra li fos atorgada e manada ésser feyta a universes e sengles officials e loch de senyoria tinents dins lo dit regne de València constituïts, que d'aquí avant hagen e tinguen lo dit Izmel Morcat per metge de físicha e de cirurgia, e que de la dita art de físicha e de cirurgia lo lexen usar e practicar sens temor de alcuna pena e sens alcun contrast o embarch.

Et encontinent lo dit honrat lochtinent de justícia, vista e reгонeguda la damunt dita letra e coses en aquella expressades, e hòides e enteses les coses per lo dit Hizmell Morcat de paraula requistes, reebé de aquell sagrament sobre los deu manaments de la lig que nostre senyor Déu donà a Moyssé en lo munt de Sinaý, per la man dreta de aquell corporalment tocats, que bé e lealment se haurà en [la dita art] de físicha // e de cirurgia, e que farà tot ço que en los furs del rey N'Amfós és ordenat sots rúbrica "De metges," e segons forma e continència de la dita letra dels examinadors damunt dits, donà e atorgà a aquell llicència de usar e practicar en la dita ciutat, viles e lochs del dit regne de València sens temor de alcuna pena. Et no-res-menys atorgà e manà ésser feyta a.queu la carta testimonial següent:

Als honrats universes e sengles officials e loch de senyoria tinents dins les ciutats, viles e lochs del regne de València als quals la present pervendrà, e a cascadun de aquells o a lurs lochtinents. De nós, En Jacme Forner, doctor en leys, tinent loch de l'honrat En Martí Fuster, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. Salut e honor. A la discreció e saviea de cascadun de vós per tenor de les presents significam que Hismel Morcat, juheu de la juheria de València, és estat examinat per los honrats e discrets maestre Jacme Mederes, maestre en arts e en medicina, e En Francesch Cambres, maestre en arts e licenciat [en] medicina, metges de la dita ciutat, examinadors per lo dit hon[rat] justícia e jurats de la ciutat sobredita en l'any present dipu[tats e] elets a examinar los metges que novellament en la ciu[tat e] regne dessus dit volran usar e practicar de la sciència e art [de fisi]cha e de cirurgia, per los quals lo dit Hismel Morcat és estat atrobat abte e sufficient de usar e practicar de la dita art de física e cirurgia, segons que a nós és çert per letra dels dits examinadors per lo dit Hismel Morcat a nós presentada en lo present dia, data de la present, la qual és de la tenor següent: "A l'honrat e discret lo justícia de la ciutat de València, etc." *Inseratur totam (sic) ut est supra*. Aprés presentació de la qual, reebut per nós primerament e // abans sacrament del dit Hismel Morcat sobre los deu manaments de la lig que nostre senyor Déu donà a Moysé en lo munt de Sinaí, que bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de física e de cirurgia, e farà tot ço que en los furs nous del rey N'Amfós, sots rúbrica "De metges," és contengut e ordenat, e encara segons forma de la dita e preinserta letra dels dits examinadors, havem atorgat e donada a aquell llicència de usar e practicar de la dita art de física e de cirurgia en la dita ciutat, viles e lochs del dit regne, sens temor de alcuna pena. En testimoni de la qual cosa manam li n'ésser feyta la present carta testimonial ab lo sagell del nostre offici ab çera groga e vermella en pendent sagellada. *Data Valentie .XXIII^o. die decembris anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC^o. septuagesimo octavo. [Su]bscripsit Iacobus.*

* * *

In the year of our Lord 1378, at the hour of vespers on Thursday the 23rd of December, before the honorable Jacme Forner, doctor of laws, in the place of the honorable Martí Fuster, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, there appeared Hizmel Morcat, a Jew from the Jewry of the said city, who presented him with a letter from the honorable Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Francesch de Cambres, master in arts and licentiate in medicine, citizens of the said city, examiners for the current year [named] by the honorable justiciar and *jurats* of the said city, written on paper, open, and sealed on the back with the seals of the said masters, whose tenor is as follows:

To the honorable civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, or his lieutenant; Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Francesch de Cambres, master in arts and licentiate in medicine, citizens of the said city, examiners appointed by the honorable justicia and *jurats* of the said city to examine practitioners who wish to begin practice the science and art of physic and surgery in the city and kingdom of Valencia; health and honor. By the tenor of these presents we inform you that Hizmel Morcat, a Jew, an inhabitant of this city,

appeared before us wishing to practice the art of physic and surgery in the city, towns, and villages of the said kingdom, and submitted to our examination; and we have well and carefully examined him in the customary manner and have found the said Hizmel competent to practice the said art of surgery; but since he has not studied the science of physic long, although he has treated illnesses requiring the science of physic, we certify to you that should he be called on in severe illnesses where a knowledge of physic is necessary, he should be required to bring a physician competent and long acquainted with theory to accompany him, if it should be in a village where this is possible, and [show that he has done so]. And thereupon, having first received the oath of the said Hizmel on the Ten Commandments that he would well, faithfully, and loyally practice the said art of physic and surgery, at the request of the above-named Hizmel [for a certification] of his competence, we certify to you by these presents that beyond doubt you may grant him license to practice the said art of physic and surgery in the manner and form explained above.

Given at Valencia the fourteenth day of the month of November, 1378 AD.

When the said letter had been presented, the said Hizmel Morcat requested orally that the said honorable lieutenant justiciar grant him a license to practice the said art of physic and surgery in the said city, towns, and villages of the kingdom, declaring himself ready to do all that he was required to do by the *fur* of Valencia, and also requested that a letter be ordered drawn up for him to each and every official in the said kingdom of Valencia that from henceforth they acknowledge the said Izmel Morcat as a practitioner of physic and surgery, and that they allow him to practice the said art of physic and surgery without fear of any penalty and without any let or hindrance.

Immediately upon receiving the said letter and the things contained in it, and upon hearing the requests made orally by the said Hizmell Morcat, the said honorable lieutenant justiciar received an oath from him on the ten commandments of the law that our Lord God gave to Moses on Mont Sinai, while he physically touched them with his right hand, that he would engage well and loyally in the said art of physic and surgery, and that he would do all that is required by the *furs* of King Alfons under the rubric "De metges," and according to the terms of the said letter from the aforesaid examiners; and granted him license to practice in the said city, towns, and villages of the said kingdom of Valencia, without fear of any penalty. And furthermore he ordered the following certificate to be drawn up for him:

To all officials and lords in the cities, towns, and villages of the kingdom of Valencia to whom these presents may come, and to each of them or their lieutenants; from us, Jacme Forner, doctor of laws, lieutenant to the honorable Martí Fuster, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and honor. We make it known to each of you by these presents that Hismel Morcat, Jew of the Jewry of Valencia, has been examined by the honorable master Jacme Mederes, master in arts and in medicine, and Francesch Cambres, master in arts and

licentiate in medicine, practitioners of the said city and examiners appointed for the current year by the said honorable justiciar and the honorable *jurats* of the said city to examine those practitioners who wish to begin to practice the science and art of physic and surgery in the said city and kingdom; and that they have found the said Hismel Morcat to be competent to practice the said art of physic and surgery, as certified to us by a letter from the said examiners presented to us today (as dated below) by the said Hismel Morcat, whose tenor is as follows: "To the honorable civil justiciar of the city of Valencia . . ." (here let it be inserted as above). And after this [letter] was presented—having first received an oath from the said Hismel Morcat on the ten commandments of the law that our Lord God gave to Moses on Mount Sinai that he would well and loyally engage in the said art of physic and surgery and would do all that is commanded by the new *furs* of king Alfons under the heading "De metges," and by the terms of the said letter from the said examiners, inserted above, have granted him license to practice the said art of physic and surgery in the said city, towns, and villages of the said kingdom, without fear of any penalty. In testimony of which thing we have ordered the present certificate to be drawn up for him, sealed in yellow and red wax with the seal of our office appended.

Given at Valencia, the 23rd day of December, 1378 AD. Subscribed by Jacobus.

9

Valencia, 27 March 1380.

Pere de Lugalbe, surgeon of Lérida, receives a license to practice surgery in Valencia and its kingdom (ARV, Justícia Civil [Lletres], 414, second quire, fols. 27–28).

Anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXX^o., die mercurii intitulata .XXVII^a. marci. Comparech davant la presència de l'honrat En Berenguer de Rabinats, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, l'onrat En Pere de Lugalbe, cilórgisich (*sic*), e presentà a aquell una letra dels honrats maestre Jacme Maderes, maestre en arts e en medicina, e maestre Vicent Serra, físich, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, patent, en paper escrita, e e.ll dos de aquella sagellada ab los sagells de cascun dels dits maestres, empremtats en cera vermella, la tenor de la qual és *ut sequitur*:

Al molt honrat senyer lo justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, o a son lochtinent. De nós, maestre Jacme Maderes, maestre en arts e en medecina, et mestre Vicent Sera, físich, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, examinadors diputats e assignats per los honrats justícia e jurats de la dita ciutat per examinar tots e sengles metges de física e de cerurgia vinents novelament ha praticar e usar de la dita art en la ciutat de València et regne de aquella. Salut, ab creximent de prosperitat e honor. Sàpia la vostra honrada discreció ésser comparegut

davant nós En Pere de Lugalbe, cirúrgich de la ciutat de Leyda, dient e afermant sí voler usar e practicar de la dita art de cirurgia en la dita ciutat de València, e viles e lochs del regne de aquella, requirient que per nós fos examinat; lo qual nós avem examinat bé e diligentment e aquell havem atrobat ésser suficient en la dita art de cirurgia, per què, honrat sènher justícia, instant e requirient lo dit En Pere de Lugalbe, per la tenor de la present vos certificam de les dites coses, e he.us requerim e pregam en deute de justícia que us plàcia donar licència e fer a aquell carta testimonial sí e segons en semblants fets per vós e vostra cort és acostumat fer, prestat per ell ans e primerament sacrament que bé e lealment usará e practicarà en la dita art de cirurgia, com nós, sènher, siam apparellats los vostres justs manaments obeir e ensequir. En testimoni de les quals coses fem-vos fer la present letra testimonial, per nós a ell liurada, ab nostres segells sagellada. Scrita en València a .XXI. de març de l'any de la nativitat de nostre senyor .M.CCC. huytanta.

Et presentada la dita letra, lo dit En Pere de Lugalbe requerí de paraula lo dit honrat justícia que li donàs e atorgàs licència de usar e practicar dins la ciutat de València, viles e lochs del regne de aquella, com se proferís apparellat de fer tot ço que per fur de València fos tengut e astret de fer, requerín encara que letra li fos manada ésser feta e liurada a universes e sengles oficials e lochs de senyoria tinents dins lo dit regne de València constituïts, que d'aquí avant haguesen e tinguen per metje en cirurgia lo dit En Pere Lugalbe, que de la dita art de cirurgia lo lexasen usar e practicar sens temor de alcuna pena, e sens alcun contrast e enbarch.

Et encontinent lo dit honrat justícia, vista e regoneguda la dita letra dels dits honrats examinadors desús presentada e les coses en aquella expresades, e hoýdes les coses per lo dit En Pere de Lugalbe de paraula requestes, de consell de son asesor reebé sacrament del dit En Pere de Lugalbe sobre los sants quatre Evvangel.lis de nostre senyor Déu, de la man dreita d'aquell corporalment tocats, que bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de cirurgia, e fer tot ço que per fur nou del rey N'Amfós sia tengut fer, e segons continència e manera de la dita letra a les dits examinadors, donà e atorgà a aquell licència de usar e practicar de la dita art de cirurgia en la dita ciutat, viles e lochs del dit regne, sens temor de alcuna pena. Et no-res-menys manà ésser feta a aquell la letra infrasegüent:

Als honrats universes e sengles oficials e loch de senyoria tinents dins lo regne de València constituïts als quals la present pervendrà, e a cascadun de aquells o a lurs lochtinents. De nós, En Berenguer de Rabinats, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. Salut e honor. A la discreció de cascadun de vós per tenor de les presents significam que En Pere de Lugalbe, cirúrgich, comorant en la dita ciutat, és estat examinat per los honrats e discrets En Jachme Maderes, mestre en arts e en medicina, e En Vicent Serra, físich, metges de la dita ciutat e examinadors per nós e per los honrats jurats de la dita ciutat en l'any present d[ip]utats e assignats a examinar los metjes que novellament en la

ciutat e regne desús dit volran usar e praticar de la sciència e art de físicha e de cirurgia, per los quals lo dit En Pere de Lugalbe és estat atrobat abte e sufficient de usar e praticar de la dita art de cirurgia, segons que a nós és cert per letra dels dits examinadós // per lo dit En Pere de Lugalbe en lo present dia de huy, data de la present, a nós presentada, la qual és de la tenor següent: "Al molt honrat sènher lo justícia, etc." *Inseratur ut est supra*. Aprés presentació de la qual, reebut per nós primerament e abans sacrament del dit En Pere de Lugalbe sobre los sants quatre Evvangelis de nostre senyor Déu, de la man dreta de aquell corporalment tocats, que, segons forma de fur nou del rey N'Amfós posat sots rúbrica "De metges," bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de cirurgia, e fer tot ço als que per lo dit fur és ordenat e segons forma de la dita e preinserta letra, havem atorgat e donada al dit En Pere de Lugalbe llicència de usar e praticar de la dita art de cirurgia en la dita ciutat, viles e lochs del dit regne de València, sens temor de alcuna pena. En testimoni de la qual cosa manam li n'ésser feta la present carta testimonial ab lo segell del nostre ofici en pendent ab cera vermela segellada. *Data Valentie .XVII^a. die marcii anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXX^o.*

* * *

In the year of our Lord 1380, Wednesday the 27th of March, before the honorable Berenguer de Rabinats, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, there appeared the honorable Pere de Lugalbe, surgeon, who presented him with a letter from the honorable master Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and master Vicent Serra, physician, citizens of the said city, open, written on paper, and sealed on the back with the seals of each of the said masters imprinted in red wax, whose tenor is as follows:

To the most honorable lord civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, or his lieutenant; from us, master Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and master Vicent Sera, physician, citizens of the said city, examiners appointed by the honorable justiciar and *jurats* of the said city to examine each and every practitioner of physic and surgery newly arrived to practice the said art in the city of Valencia; health, with increase of prosperity and honor. May your worship know that Pere de Lugalbe, a surgeon from the city of Lérida, has appeared before us, declaring that he wishes to practice the said art of surgery in the said city of Valencia and the towns and villages of its kingdom, and asking that he be examined by us; and we have carefully examined him and have found him competent in the said art of surgery. Wherefore, honored sir, at the request of the said Pere de Lugalbe, we certify the said things to you by these presents and request in accordance with the law that it please you to grant him license and prepare for him a certificate, as you and your court are accustomed to do in such cases—he first taking an oath that he will practice the said art of surgery well and loyally, as we, lord, are prepared to obey your just orders. In testimony of which things we have drawn up for you the present letter, given by us to him, and sealed with our seals.

Written in Valencia, 21 March 1380 AD.

When the said letter had been presented, the said Pere Lugalbe requested orally that the said honorable justiciar grant him a license to practice in the city of Valencia and the towns and villages of its kingdom, declaring himself ready to fulfill all that he was required to do by the *fur* of Valencia, and also requested that a letter be ordered drawn up for him and addressed to each and every official in the said kingdom of Valencia that from henceforth they acknowledge the said Pere Lugalbe as a practitioner of surgery, and that they allow him to practice the said art of surgery without fear of any penalty and without any let or hindrance.

Immediately upon receiving the said letter presented from the said honorable examiners and reading the things contained in it, and upon hearing the requests made orally by the said Pere de Lugalbe, the said honorable justiciar, at the advice of his assessor, received from the said Pere de Lugalbe an oath on the four holy Gospels of our Lord God, while he physically touched them with his right hand, that he would engage well and loyally in the said art of surgery, and that he would do all that he was required to do according to the new *fur* of King Alfons and under the terms of the letter from the said examiners; and granted him license to practice the said art of surgery in the said city and the towns and villages of its kingdom, without fear of any penalty. And furthermore he ordered the following certificate to be drawn up for him:

To all officials in the kingdom of Valencia to whom these presents may come, and to each of them or their lieutenants; from us, Berenguer de Rabinals, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and honor. We make it known to each of you by these presents that Pere de Lugalbe, surgeon, dwelling in the said city, has been examined by the honorable Jachme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Vicent Serra, physician, practitioners of the said city and examiners appointed for the current year by us and by the honorable *jurats* of the said city to examine those practitioners who wish to begin to practice the science and art of physic and surgery in the said city and kingdom; and that the said Pere de Lugalbe has been found to be competent to practice the said art of surgery, as certified to us by a letter from the said examiners presented to us today by the said Pere de Lugalbe, whose tenor is as follows: (here let it be inserted as above). And after this [letter] was presented, we—having first received an oath from the said Pere de Lugalbe on the four holy Gospels of our Lord God, while he physically touched them, that, in accordance with the terms of the new *fur* of King Alfons under the heading “De metges,” he would well and loyally engage in the said art of surgery and would do all that is commanded by the said *fur* and according to the terms of the letter inserted above—have granted the said Pere de Lugalbe license to practice the said art of surgery in the said city, towns, and villages of the said kingdom of Valencia, without fear of any penalty. In testimony of which thing we have ordered the present certificate to be drawn up for him, sealed in red wax with the seal of our office appended.

Given at Valencia, the 17th of March, 1380 AD.

Valencia, 20 December 1380.

Grant of a license to operate for hernia anywhere in the kingdom of Valencia, to Tomàs de Maestre Tone, a surgeon from the Mark of Ancona (ARV, Justícia Civil [Lletres], 414, eighth quire, fol. 17).

Anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXX^o., die iovis .XX^o. decembris. Denant l'onrat En Berenguer de Rabinats, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, comparegueren los honrats mestre Jacme Mederes, mestre en arts e en medicina, e En Vicent Serra, físich, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, examinadors diputats e assignats per los honrats justícia e jurats de la dita ciutat a examinar tots e sengles metges de físicha e de cirurgia vinents novellament a praticar e usar de les dites arts en la dita ciutat e regne de aquella, de una part, et mestre Tomàs de Maestre Tone, de la Marcha d'Ancona, de la part altra. Et, instant e requirient lo dit mestre Tomàs, los dits honrats mestres Jacme e En Vicent Serra, examinadors qui dessús, per vigor de un manament a aquells feyt per lo dit honrat a instància del dit mestre Tomàs, feren relació e dixeren de paraula denant lo dit honrat justícia que ells havien vist obrar de les malalties de tal appellades hèrnies, *alias* potresos, al dit mestre Tomàs, et encara reebuda informació sumària de alcunes cures que lo dit mestre Tomàs havia fetes de les dites malalties, et que havien trobat aquell ésser bo e sufficient en la dita art de les dites hèrnies de tal, et que podia e devia usar de aquella, emperò que lo dit mestre Tomàs, ans que començàs o volgués metre mà a fer les dites obres de tal, dega e sia tengut de dir e declarar als pacients dues coses: la primera, lo perill de la mort que s'í pot esdevenir; la segona, que notifique e declar al pacient que deu perdre e li deu ésser tallat lo genitiu, la un o abduy, en què haurà mal. Et que açò fahent, e lo pacient volent-se metre en son poder ab les dites condicions, devia ésser donada licència de usar et praticar de les dites malalties de hèrnies.

Et encontinent lo dit honrat justícia, hoÿda la dita relació dels dits honrats examinadors feta, et a instància e requisició del dit mestre Tomàs de Maestre Tone, et de conseyll de son assessor, reebé sagrament del dit mestre Tomàs sobre los sants Evvangelis de Déu, per la man dreita de aquell corporalment tocats, que bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de tal de les dites malalties appellades hèrnies, ab les condicions dessús dites, et que farà tot ço que per fur nou del rey N'Anfós és tengut fer, donà e atorgà al dit mestre Tomàs que pogués usar e praticar de la dita art de tal de les dites malalties appellades hèrnia, en la dita ciutat, viles e lochs del regne de aquella. Et resno-menys manà ésser feyta // al dit mestre Tomàs la letra testimonial infrasegüent:

Als honrats universes e sengles officials e lochs de senyoria tinents als quals la present pervendrà o presentada serà, dins lo regne de València, e a cascun de aquells o a llurs lochtinents. De nós, En Berenguer de Rabinats, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. Salut e honor. A la discreció de cascun de vós per tenor de les presents significam que maestre Tomàs de Maestre Tone, de la Marcha de Anchona, cirurgia e maestre de malalties de hèrnies, en altra manera appellades potresos, comorant a present en la dita ciutat, és estat examinat bé e diligentment per los honrats e discrets En Jacme Mederes, maestre en art e en medicina, et En Vicent Serra, físich, metges de la dita ciutat et examinadors per nós e per los honrats jurats de la damunt dita ciutat en l'any present diputats e assignats a examinar los metges que novellament en la dita ciutat e regne dessus dit volran usar e praticar de la sciència e art de físicha e de cirurgia, per los quals lo dit maestre Tomàs és estat atrobat abte e sufficient de usar e praticar de la dita art de cirurgia de tayl de les dites malalties de hèrnies, *alias* appellades potres, segons que a nós és estat cert per relació dels examinadors feta; après de la qual relació, reebut per nós primerament e abans sacrament del dit maestre Tomàs sobre los sants Evvangelis de Déu, per aquell corporalment tocats, que bé e lealment, segons forma de fur nou del rey N'Amfós, se haurà en la dita art de cirurgia de tayl de les dites malalties de hèrnies, et que notificarà als pacients havents aquell mal dues coses: la primera, lo perill de la mort que s'i pot esdevenir en fer la dita obra; la segona, que declararà als pacients que deuen perdre e.ls deu ésser tallat lo genitiu on haurà lo mal, o abduy, si en abduy hauran la dita malaltia, havem atorgada e donada al dit maestre Tomàs llicència de usar e praticar de la dita art de cirurgia de tayll de les dites malalties de hèrnies en la dita ciutat, viles e lochs del dit regne de València, sens temor de alcuna pena. En testimoni de la qual cosa, manam li ésser feta la present carta testimonial ab lo segell del nostre offici en pendent ab cera vermella sagellada. *Data Valentie .XXII^a. die decembris anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXX^o.*

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In the year of our Lord 1380, Thursday the 20th of December, before the honorable Berenguer de Rabinats, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, there appeared on the one hand the honorable master Jacme Mederes, master in arts and in medicine, and Vicent Serra, physician, citizens of the said city, examiners appointed by the honorable justiciar and *jurats* of the said city to examine each and every practitioner of physic and surgery newly arrived to practice the said arts in the said city and its kingdom; and on the other hand master Tomás de Maestre Tone, from the Mark of Ancona. And at the request of the said master Tomás, the said honorable masters Jacme and Vicent Serra, the examiners named above, responding to an order given them by the said honorable [justiciar] at the request of the said master Tomás, explained orally to the said honorable justiciar that they had seen the said master Tomás operate on those illnesses called hernias or *potresos*, and had also received accounts of cures that the said master Tomás had brought about of the said illnesses, and that they had found him competent in

the said art of operating on the said hernias, and that he could and should employ it; but that the said master Tomás, before beginning or setting his hand to such operations, should be required to make two things plain to his patients: the first, the danger of death that could supervene; the second, that he notify the patient who must have his testicle removed, one or both, whichever is affected. Having done this, if the patient is willing to put himself in his care under these conditions, he should be given license to practice on the said ailments or hernias.

Immediately the said honorable justiciar, having heard the said account given by the said honorable examiners, at the request of the said master Tomás de Maestre Tone, and upon the advice of his assessor, received from the said master Tomás an oath on the holy Gospels of God, while he physically touched them with his right hand, that he would engage well and loyally in practicing the said art of operating on the said ailments called hernias, under the conditions stated above, and that he would do all that he was required to do under the new *fur* of King Alfons; and granted the said master Tomás that he might practice the said art of operating on the said ailment called hernia in the said city and the towns and villages of its kingdom. And furthermore he ordered the following testimonial to be drawn up for the said master Tomás:

To all officials and lords in the kingdom of Valencia to whom these presents may come, and to each of them or their lieutenants; from us, Berenguer de Rabinats, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and honor. We make it known to each of you by these presents that master Tomás de Maestre Tone, of the Mark of Ancona, surgeon and master of hernial complaints (also called *potresos*), dwelling at present in the said city, has been examined carefully by the honorable Jacme Mederes, master in art and in medicine, and Vicent Serra, physician, practitioners of the said city and examiners appointed for the current year by us and by the honorable *jurats* of the above-mentioned city to examine those practitioners who wish to begin to practice the science and art of physic and surgery in the said city and kingdom; and that the said master Tomás has been found by them to be competent to employ and practice the said art of operating surgically on the said hernial complaints or *potres*, as certified to us by the account made by the examiners; and after receiving this account, we—having first received an oath from the said master Tomás on the holy Gospels of God, while he physically touched them, in accordance with the new *fur* of King Alfons, that he would well and loyally engage in the said art of operating for hernial complaints, and that he would first inform patients with such complaints of two things: first, the danger of death that they could run in undergoing the said operation; second, that he would notify those patients who must have an affected testicle removed, or both if the said complaint involved both—have granted the said master Tomás license to practice the said art of surgical operation for the said hernial complaints in the said city, towns, and villages of the said kingdom of Valencia, without fear of any

penalty. In testimony of which thing we have ordered the present certificate to be drawn up for him, sealed in red wax with the seal of our office appended.

Given at Valencia, the 22nd of December, 1380 AD.

11

Valencia, 9 February 1383.

Bernat Giner, alias Fuster, receives a license to practice medicine and surgery throughout the kingdom of Valencia (ARV, Justicia Civil [Lletres], 459, second quire, fols. 1–2).

Anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC°.LXXX°. tertio, die lune .IX°. februarii. Davant lo honrat En Johan de Cervató, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, comparech En Bernat Giner, en altra manera appellat Fuster, físich cirurgià, et presentà a aquell una letra dels honrats En Jacme Maderes et En Pere Gironés, examinadors en l'any present dels metges cirurgians de la dita ciutat, la tenor de la qual és aytal:

A l'honrat e discret sènyer lo justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, o a son lochtinent. De nós, En Jacme Maderes, maestre en arts et en medicina, et En Pere Gironés, bacheller en medicina, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, examinadors en l'any present deputats a examinar los metges qui novellament vénen e volen exercir et praticar en la dita ciutat et regne de València en física et en cirurgia. Salut e honor. Certificam, sènyer, a la vostra discreció, que lo discret En Bernat Giner, *alias* Fuster, és comparegut denant nós e ha request nós que.l deguéssim examinar en física et en cirurgia, lo qual havem examinat en la dita facultat segons forma acostumada, e havem trobat que.l dit En Bernat Gener no és tehòrich, mas ha covinent pràctica et antiqua en física et en cirurgia, et per açò longua continuació que ha feyta ab metges en pràctica et en la dita facultat, segons que li'n fan testimonis diverses metges antichs en una carta pública, la qual nós havem vista, havem reputat et reputam aquell, dit En Bernat Gener, ésser abte e sufficient a usar e praticar en la dita ciutat e regne de València de física et de cirurgia, ab les moderació, retenció et forma següents, ço és, que no s'entrametrà ne use en cirurgia de nafres perilloses, axí com nafres de cap, de pits, de budells et d'altres nafres perilloses, et en física de malalties perilloses, axí com fe/bres contínues et frenesis et altres malalties agudes, sens altre coatinent o companyat metge o metges autèntichs o de auctoritat et pus sperts, sots la pena continguda en lo fur. Per què, instant e requirient lo dit En Bernat Gener, intiman les dites coses ab la present a vós, dit honrat justícia et lochtinent vostre, remetem aquell dit En Bernat et pregam e requirim que donets llicència et facultat a ell, dit En Bernat Gener, que puga exercir, usar et praticar en la dita ciutat et regne, et en les dites facultats de física et cirurgia, segons forma dessus expressada, rehebent sagrament de aquell que allò servarà et contra no vingua. *Data Valentie .XXII. die ianuarii anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC°.LXXX°. tertio.*

Et presentada la dita letra, encontinent lo dit honrat rehebré (*sic*) sacrament del dit En Bernat Giner sobre los sants Evangelis, que ell que (*sic*) usaria bé e lealment del dit offici de cirurgia et de física, ab les moderació et retenció dessús per los dits examinadors retenguda. Et res-no-menys manà li ésser feyta la letra certificatòria infrasegüent:

Als honrats et discrets universes et sengles oficials o loch de senyoria tinentes dins lo regne de València constituïts als quals la present pervendrà o presentada serà, o a lurs lochtinents. De nós, En Johan de Cervató, justícia civil de la ciutat de València. Salut e complida honor. Per tenor de les presents certificam-vos que En Bernat Gener, *alias* appellat Fuster, físich e cirurgià, és stat examinat per los honrats En Jacme Maderes, maestre en arts e en medicina, et En Pere Gironés, baxeller en medicina, concitadans nostres e metges de la dita ciutat, examinadors per nós e per los honrats jurats de la damunt dita ciutat assignats e deputats a examinar los metges volents usar o praticar de medicina en la dita ciutat de València et regne de aquella, per los quals lo dit En Bernat Gener, *alias* Fuster, és stat atrobat abte et sufficient de usar e practicar en art de física o medicina et cirurgia, excepta que ell no use ne s'entrameta en les cures de física et cirurgia següents, ço és, de cirurgia, axí com són nafres de cap et de pits, de budells et de altres nafres perilloses; et de física, de malalties perilloses, axí com són febres contínues e frenesis et altres malalties hagudes, sens altre cohaduït o acompanyat metge o metges autèntichs o de auctoritat pus sp[er]ts], sots la pena en furs et privilegis contenguda, segons que a nós és cert de totes les dites coses ab letra certificatòria dels dits honrats examinadors, *que data fuit Valentie, .XXII^a. die ianuarii anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC^o. LXXX^o. tertio*, et presentada a nós per lo dit En Bernat Gener, *alias* Fuster, en lo dia data de la present. Per la qual cosa, avén rehebut de aquell primerament e abans sacrament sobre los sants Evangelis de Déu, per la sua man dreta corporalment tocats, segons forma de furs et privilegis, que bé et lealment se hauria en usar de la dita art de física e de cirurgia, havem donat a aquell llicència de usar et praticar en la dita ciutat et regne de aquella de la dita art de medicina, ço es, en física et en cirurgia, en e per la manera dessús centada (*sic*) et recomptada, sens temor et incursió o ind[uc]ció de alguna pena que a aquell e béns seus no sia exhigida o levada. En testimoni de les quals coses, manam a aquell ésser feyta la present carta testimonial, sots [. . .]ment del sagell de la nostra cord (*sic*) empendent [sagellada]. *Data Valentie .IX^a. die februaryi anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC^o.LXXX^o. tertio*.

* * *

In the year of our Lord 1383, Monday the 9th of February, appeared Bernat Giner, alias Fuster, physician-surgeon, before the honorable Johan de Cervató, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; and he presented him with a letter from the honorable Jacme Maderes and Pere Gironés, examiners for the current year of surgeon-practitioners in the said city, whose tenor is as follows:

To the honorable lord civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, or his lieutenant; from us, Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Pere Gironés, bachelor in medicine, citizens of the said city, examiners appointed for the current year to practitioners newly arrived and wishing to practice medicine and surgery in the said city and kingdom of Valencia; health and honor. We inform your lordship that Bernat Giner, alias Fuster, has appeared before us and has asked us that we examine him in medicine and in surgery; we have examined him in the said skill in the customary manner, and have found that the said Bernat Giner is not learned, but has long practiced in medicine and in surgery; and given the long involvement that he has had with practicing physicians and in this skill, as a number of practitioners of long standing have certified in a public document that we have seen, we judge the said Bernat Giner to be competent to practice medicine and surgery in the said city and kingdom of Valencia—with the restriction that he not engage in surgery on dangerous wounds (as wounds of the head, the chest, the intestines, and other dangerous wounds) or in medicinal treatment of dangerous illnesses (like continued fevers and frenzy and other acute diseases) unless he is assisted by another expert physician or physicians of authority, under the penalty prescribed by the *fur*. Wherefore, at the request of the said Bernat Giner, notifying you, honored justiciar, or your lieutenant, of the said things, we send on the said Bernat and request that you grant permission to him, the said En Bernat Giner, to exercise, employ, and practice the said skills of medicine and surgery within the said city and kingdom in the manner set out above, taking oath from him that he will fulfill and not contravene it.

Given at Valencia, the 22nd day of January, 1383 AD.

When this letter had been presented, the said honorable [justiciar] took the oath of the said Bernat Giner on the holy Gospels that he would engage well and loyally in the said practice of surgery and physic, with the restriction imposed above by the said examiners. And furthermore he commanded that the following certificate be drawn up for him:

To each and every official in the kingdom of Valencia to whom these presents may come, or to their lieutenants; from us, Johan de Cervató, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and deserved honor. By these presents we inform you that Bernat Giner, also called Fuster, physician and surgeon, has been examined by the honorable Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Pere Gironés, bachelor in medicine, physicians of the said city and our fellow citizens, examiners appointed by us and by the honorable *jurats* of the aforementioned city to examine practitioners wishing to practice medicine in the said city of Valencia and its kingdom; by whom the said Bernat Giner, alias Fuster, has been found competent to practice the art of physic or medicine and surgery, except that he may not use or engage in the following medical and surgical treatments: for surgery, wounds of the head, the chest, the intestines, and other dangerous wounds; for physic, dangerous illnesses like continued fevers and frenzy and other acute diseases—unless he is assisted or accompanied by another physician or physicians, authorized or of greater expertise, under the penalty prescribed by the *furs* and privileges; all of which

has been certified to us by a certificate from the said honorable examiners, "which was given at Valencia, the 22nd day of January, 1383 AD," presented to us by the said Bernat Giner, alias Fuster, on the present day. Wherefore we, having first received from him an oath on the holy Gospels of God, while he physically touched them with his right hand as prescribed by the *furs* and privileges, that he will engage well and loyally in practicing the said art of physic and surgery, have given him license to practice the said art of medicine, that is, physic and surgery, in the said city and its kingdom, in the manner described above, without fear or imposition of any penalty that might be imposed on him or his possessions. In testimony of which things we have ordered the present certificate to be drawn up for him, under . . . the pendent seal of our court.

Given at Valencia, the 9th day of February, 1383 AD.

12

Valencia, 23 October 1383.

Francesc Maestre Assensi de Toscana, of Perugia, expert in the treatment of hernias, is authorized to practice his art in the city and environs of Valencia (ARV, Justícia Civil [Lletres], 459, seventh quire, fol. 12).

Anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC°.LXXX°. tertio, die veneris .XXIII°. octobris. Denant l'onrat En Johan de Cervató, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, comparech En Francesch Maestre Assensi de Tosquana, de la ciutat de Perusa, et presentà a aquell una letra dels honrats En Jacme Maderes, maestre en arts e en medecina, e En Pere Gironés, bacheller en medecina, examinadors en l'any present deputats a examinar los metges, de la tenor e continència següent:

A l'honrat e discret sènyer lo justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, o a son lochtinent. De nós, En Jacme Marades (*sic*), maestre en arts e en medecina, e En Pere Gironés, baxeller en medecina, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, examinadors en l'any present deputats a exhaminar los metges qui novellament vénen e volen exercir e praticar en la dita ciutat e regne de València en física e en cirurgia. Salut e honor. Certificam, sènyer, a la vostra discreció, que lo discret En Francesch Maestre Assensi de Toscana, de la ciutat de Perusa, en lo dia present és comparegut denant nós, e request nós que.l deguessem examinar en feyt de ruptures o trencadures, *alias* potres, lo qual havem exhaminat en la dita facultat segons forma acostumada e havem trobat e reputat e reputam aquell apte e suficient en praticar, usar e exarcir medecina de les dites ruptures, *alias* trencadures, ab tallar o sens tallar; per què, instant e requirient lo dit En Francesch Maestre Sensi, intiman les dites coses ab la present a vós, dit honrat justícia o lochtinent vostre, remetem aquell dit En Francesch Maestre Assensi, e preguam e requirim que donets llicència e facultat a ell que pugua exercir, usar et // praticar en la dita ciutat e regne e (*sic*) de la dita medecina de reptures, *alias* potres, reebut sacrament d'ell que d'altra cosa no s'entrametrà. *Data Valentie vicesima die octobris anno a nativitate Domini .M°.CCC°.LXXX°. tertio.*

Et presentada la dita letra, encontinent lo dit justícia dix que reebia a aquella aytant com per fur e rahó era reebedora, et no empús. Et no-res-menys lo dit justícia reebé sacrament del dit En Francesch Maestre Assensi de Toschana sobre los sants quatre Evvangelis de Déu, per virtut del qual, interrogat, respòs e dix que se hauria bé e lealment en lo dit ar(t) de reptures *alias* trenchadures. Et, reebut lo dit sacrament, encontinent lo dit justícia donà licència e facultat al dit En Francesch Maestre Assensi de Toschana, que pogués usar del dit art de ruptures per tota la dita ciutat e terme de aquella.

* * *

In the year of our Lord 1383, Friday the 23rd of October, appeared Francesch Maestre Assensi de Toscana, of the city of Perugia, before the honorable Johan de Cervató, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; and he presented him with a letter from the honorable Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Pere Gironés, bachelor in medicine, examiners for the current year deputed to examine practitioners, whose tenor and contents are as follows:

To the honorable lord civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, or his lieutenant; from us, Jacme Maderes, master in arts and medicine, and Pere Gironés, bachelor in medicine, citizens of the said city, examiners appointed for the current year to examine practitioners newly arrived and wishing to practice medicine and surgery in the said city and kingdom of Valencia; health and honor. We inform your lordship that Francesch Mastre Assensi de Toscana, of the city of Perugia, has appeared before us today, and has asked us that we examine him on ruptures or hernias, *alias potres*; whom we have examined on this skill in the customary manner, and have found him to be competent to practice treatment for the said ruptures or hernias, with or without cutting; wherefore, at the request of the said Francesch Maestre Sensi, we notify you, honored justiciar, or your lieutenant, of the said things, [and] we send the said Francesch Maestre Assensi to you and request that you grant him license to exercise, employ, and practice the said treatment of ruptures, *alias potres*, within the said city and kingdom, taking oath from him that he will engage in nothing more.

Given at Valencia, the 20th day of October, 1383 AD.

When this letter had been presented, the said justiciar said that he received it as prescribed by the *fur* and by reason, and nothing more; and furthermore the said justiciar took the oath of the said Francesch Maestre de Toschana on the four holy Gospels of God, according to which, questioned, he replied that he would engage well and loyally in the said art of [treating] ruptures or hernias.

When he had received the said oath, the said justiciar immediately gave license to the said Francesch Maestre Assensi de Toschana to use the said art of [treating] ruptures throughout all the said city and its dependencies.

Valencia, 24 January 1388.

Maymó Abdochaxis, Muslim, a barber of Manises, receives a license to treat simple wounds and abscesses, after having been examined and having taken an oath by the Qu'ran to practice the art of surgery well and honestly (ARV, Justícia Civil, 550, fols. 30r–31r).

Anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXX^o.VIII^o., die veneris .XXIII. ianuarii. Denant l'onrat En Jacme Valleriola, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, comparech lo Maymó Abdochaxis, barber del loch de Manises, e presentà a.queull una letra dels examinadós dels metges, uberta, en paper escrita, sagellada ab dos sagells dels dits examinadós en cera, la un ver(t) e l'altre vermell, la tenor de la qual és ut sequitur:

Al molt honrat sènher lo justícia de la ciutat de València, o a son lochtinent. De nós, En Jacme Maderes, mestre en arts e en medecina, e En Jacme d'Avinyó, batxeller en medecina, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, examinadós en l'any present deputats e assignats per los honrats justícia (e) jurats de la ciutat per examinar tots e sengles metges de física e cirurgia vinents nov(e)llament a praticar e usar de la dita art en la ciutat de València e lochs e viles del regne de aquella. Salut, ab creximent de prosperitat e honor. Sàpia la vostra honrada discreció ésser comparegut denant nós Maymó Abdochaxis, barber del loch de Manises, dient e affermant sí volent usar e praticar de nafres simples, apostemes, lo qual havem bé e diligentment examinat e aquell havem atrobat suficient en les dites nafres simples fetes en la *carni tantum* e en obrir apostemes, e no en pus. Per què, honrat sènher justícia, instant e requerint lo dit Maymó Abdochaxis, per la tenor de la present vos certificam de les dites coses e us requerim e pregam en deute de justícia que us plàcia donar llicència e fer a aquell carta testimonial sí e segons que en semblants feyts per vós e vostra cort és acostumat fer, prestat per ell ans e primerament sacrament que bé e llealment usará e practicarà en la ciutat de València e en los lochs e regne de aquella de nafres simples feytes en la *carni tantum* e obrir apostemes, e no s'entrametrà de plus, sots les penes contengudes en fur de València, com nós, sènher, siam aparellats los vostres justs manaments obeir e enseguir. En testimoni de les quals coses fem-vos fer la present letra, per nós a ell liurada, e ab nostres sagells sagellada. *Data* en València a .XXI. dia de jener de l'any de la nativitat de nostre Senyor .M.CCC.LXXX. huit.

Et presentada la dita letra, encontinent lo dit honrat justícia ena(n)tà de rebre sacrament del dit Maymó Abdochxis, barber dessús dit, en la forma següent: //

En Maymó Abd[och]xis, barber, moro, jurà girant la cara ves migjorn per Déu e per l'alchibla, segons zuna e xara dels moros, que bé e lealment s'aurà en la dita art de cirurgia, en per la forma en la dessús dita letra per los dits examinadors contenguda, e servarà totes aquelles coses en aquella contengudes.

Et rebut lo dit sacrament del dit Maymó Abdolo[ch]xis, barber, moro dessús dit, encontinent lo dit honrat justícia donà licència e plen poder al dit Maymó Abdolochxis, moro, de usar e practicar de art de barber o cirorgià dins la ciutat e regne de València sens alguna pena.

Et encontinent lo dit Maymó Abdochis, moro, requerí de paraula lo dit honrat justícia que letra testimonial li fos feta general a tots universes e sengles oficials o loch de senyoria tinents, que hagen per metge al dit Maymó Abdochis, moro, e que en practicar e usar en la dita art de cirorgia no li sia feyt algun contrast o enbarch.

Per què de continent lo dit honrat justícia manà ésser feta la letra testimonial en la forma següent:

Als honrats universes e sengles offic[i]als e loch de senyoria tinents dins lo regne de València constituïts als quals la present pervindrà o presentada serà, o a lurs lochtinents. De nós, En Jacme Valleriola, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. Salut e honor. Per tenor de les presents vos significam que Maymó Abdochis, moro, barber del loch de Manises, és stat examinat per los honrats e discrets En Jacme Maderes, mestre en arts e en medecina, e En Jacme Avinyó, bachelor en medecina, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, examinadors en l'any present deputats e assignats per nós e per los honrats jurats de la ciutat damunt dita, per los quals lo dit Maymó Abdochis és stat atrobat abte e suficient de usar e practicar de art de cirorgia, ço és, en nafres simples fetes en la carn solament e obrir apostemes, e no empús, segons que a nós és cert // per letr[a] dels dits examinadors per lo dit Maymó Adochixs a nós presentada, *que data fuit Valentie .XXI^a. die mensis ianuarie anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXX^o.VIII^o et infrascripto*, per la qual cosa nós, reebut per aquell primerament e abans sacrament segons zuna e xara de moros, en o per la forma en la dessús dita letra per los dits examinadors contenguda, que bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de cirurgia, havem donat e atorgat a aquell licència de usar e practicar en la dita ciutat de València e regne de aquella de la dita art de cirurgia en la forma dessús dita sens temor de alguna pena. En testimoni de les quals coses manam li ésser feyta la present carta testimonial ab lo sagell del nostre offici en pendent sagellada. *Data Valentie .XX^a. prima (sic) die mensis ianuarii anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXX.VIII^o.*

* * *

In the year of our Lord 1388, Friday the 24th of January, appeared Maymó Abdochaxis, a barber from the village of Manises, before the honorable Jacme Valleriola, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; and he presented him with a letter from the examiners of physicians, open, written on paper, sealed in wax with the two seals of the said examiners (one green and the other red), whose tenor is as follows:

To the honorable lord justiciar of the city of Valencia, or his lieutenant; from us, Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Jacme d'Avinyó, bachelor in medicine, citizens of the said city, examiners appointed for the current year by the honorable justiciar and *jurats* of the said city to examine each and

every practitioner of physic and of surgery newly come to practice the said art in the city of Valencia and in the villages and towns of its kingdom; health, with increase of wealth and honor. May your worship know that Maymó Abdochaxis, a barber of the village of Manises, has appeared before us, declaring that he wishes to practice on simple wounds and apostemes, and we have carefully examined him and have found him competent in [treating] simple flesh wounds and in opening apostemes, but nothing more. Wherefore, honored sir, at the request of the said Maymó Abdochaxis, we certify the said things to you by these presents and request in accordance with the law that it please you to grant him license and prepare for him a certificate, as you and your court are accustomed to do in such cases—he first taking an oath that he will practice well and loyally in the city of Valencia and in its villages and kingdom, [treating] simple flesh wounds and opening apostemes but engaging in nothing more, under the penalties set out in the Valencian *fur*, as we, lord, are prepared to obey and follow your just orders. In testimony of which things we have drawn up for you the present letter, given by us to him, and sealed with our seals.

Given at Valencia, 21 January 1388 AD.

When this letter had been presented, the said honorable justiciar immediately proceeded to receive an oath from the said Maymó Abdochaxis, the abovementioned barber, according to the following form:

Maymó Abdochaxis, barber, Muslim, turning his face towards the south, swears by God and the *qibla*, by the *zuna* and *xara* of the Muslims, that he will engage well and loyally in the said art of surgery, in the manner set out in the above-mentioned letter from the said examiners, and will obey all the conditions contained in it.

When the oath of the said Maymó Abdochaxis, barber, Muslim, had been taken, the said honorable justiciar immediately gave license to the said Maymó Abdochaxis, Muslim, to practice as a barber or surgeon in the city and kingdom of Valencia without any penalty.

And immediately the said Maymó Abdochaxis, Muslim, requested orally that the said honorable justiciar prepare him a general certificate to each and every official, that they accept the said Maymó Abdochaxis, Muslim, as a practitioner, and that no let or hindrance be raised against him in practicing the said art of surgery.

Whereupon the said honorable justiciar immediately ordered a certificate to be drawn up in the following form:

To all officials in the kingdom of Valencia to whom these presents may come, or to their lieutenants; from us, Jacme Valleriola, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and honor. By these presents we certify to you that Maymó Abdochaxis, Muslim, barber of the village of Manises, has been examined by the honorable Jacme Maderes, master in arts and medicine, and Jacme Avinyó, bachelor in medicine, citizens of the said city, examiners appointed for the current year by us and by the honorable *jurats* of the aforementioned city, by whom the said Maymó Abdochaxis has been found competent to practice the art of surgery—that is, [to treat] simple flesh wounds and to open apostemes,

and nothing more—as has been certified to us by a letter from the said examiners presented to us by the said Maymó Adochixs, which “was given at Valencia the 21st day of January 1388 AD *et infrascripto*”; wherefore we, having first received from him an oath by the *zuna* and *xara* of the Muslims, according to the form set out in the above letter from the said examiners, that he will engage well and loyally in the said art of surgery, have granted him license to practice the said art of surgery according to the manner defined above within the city of Valencia and its kingdom, without fear of any penalty. In testimony of which things we have commanded the present certificate to be drawn up for him, sealed with the seal of our office affixed.

Given at Valencia, the 21st day of January, 1388 AD.

14

Valencia, 25 January 1388.

Guillem Vives is authorized to practice certain aspects of the art of surgery, after having been declared qualified by the examiners and having sworn before the justiciar to act honestly in his craft (ARV, Justícia Civil, 550, fol. 33r–v).

Als honrats universes e sengles officials e loch de senyoria tinents dins lo regne de València constituïts als quals la present pervindrà o presentada serà, o a lurs lochtinents. De nós, En Jacme Valleriola, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. Salut e honor. Per tenor de les presents vos significam que En Guillem Vives, de la dita ciutat de Xàtiva, és estat examinat per los honrats e discrets En Jacme Maderes Maderes (*sic*), mestr[e] en arts e en medecina, e En Jacme d’Avinyó, baxeler [e]n medecina, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, examinadors en l’any present deputats e assignats per nós e per los honrats jurats de la ciutat damunt dita, per los quals lo dit En Guillem Vives és stat atrobat abte e suficient de usar e praticar de art de cirurgia, ço és a saber, en nafres simples feïtes en la superficiens (*sic*) de la carn *tantum* e en obrir floroncos e curar aquells, e no de més av[an]t, segons que a nós és cert per letra de les dits examinadors per lo dit En Guillem Vives a nós presentada, *que data fuit Valentie vicessima tertia ianuarii anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXX^o. octavo et infrascripto*, per la qual cosa nós, reebut per aquell primerament e abans sacrament // sobre los sants Evangelis de nostre se[n]yor Déu, de la man dreta de aquell corporalment toca[ts], segons forma de fur, que bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de cirurgia en la forma dessús dita, havem donat e atorgat a aquell llicència de usar e praticar en la dita ciutat de València e regne de aquella de la dita art de cirurgia sens temor de alcuna pena. En testimoni de les quals coses manam li ésser feyta la present carta testimonial ab lo sagell del nostre offici en pendent sagellada. *Data Valentie .XXV^o. ianuarii anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXX^o. octavo*.

* * *

To all officials in the kingdom of Valencia to whom these presents may come, or to their lieutenants; from us, Jacme Valleriola, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and honor.

By these presents we notify you that Guillem Vives, of the said city of Xàtiva, has been examined by the honorable Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Jacme d'Avinyó, bachelor in medicine, citizens of the said city, examiners appointed for the current year by us and by the honorable *jurats* of the aforesaid city; by whom the said Guillem Vives has been found competent to practice the art of surgery—that is, in simple superficial flesh wounds only, and in opening furuncles and treating them, and nothing more—as is certified to us by a letter from the said examiners given to us by the said Guillem Vives, which was “given at Valencia 23 January 1388 *et infrascripto*.” Wherefore we, having first received from him an oath on the holy Gospels of our Lord God, while he physically touched them with his right hand, as prescribed by the *fur*, that he will act well and loyally in the said art of surgery in the manner specified above, have given him license to practice the said art of surgery in the said city of Valencia and its kingdom without fear of any penalty. In testimony of which things we have ordered the present certificate to be drawn up for him, sealed with the pendent seal of our office.

Given at Valencia, 25 January 1388 AD.

15

Valencia, 29 January 1388.

Grant of a license to Andreu Martí of Guinarch (Sinarcas?) to practice hernial surgery (ARV, Justícia Civil, 550, fol. 35r–v).

Als honrats [un]iverses e sengles officials o loch de senyoria tinent dins lo regne de València constituïts als quals la present pervendrà o presentada serà, o a lur(s) lochtinents. De nós, En Jacme Valleriola, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. Salut e honor. Per tenor de les presents vos significam que mestre Andreu Martí, del loch de Guinarch, és estat examinat per los honrats e discrets En Jacme Maderes, mestre en arts e en medicina, e En Jacme d'Avinyó, batxeler en medicina, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, examinadors en l'any present deputats e assignats per nós e per los honrats jurats de la ciutat damunt dita per examinar totes e sengles metges de física e de cirurgia volents novellament prati[car e] usar de la dita art en la ciutat de València e regne de aquella, per los quals lo dit mestre Andreu Martí és estat atrobat abte e suficient de usar e practicar de art de cirurgia, ço és, de ruptura

dindimal, lo qual és inflació hernial, en la qual lo budell o lo cre[. . .] és dislogat e exit de les parts de dintre a la carn del mirach pròpiament *in dindimo e osseo seu testiculorum bursa*, e no de més avant, segons que a nós és cert per letra dels dits examinadors per lo dit mestre Andreu Martí a nós presentada, *que data fuit Valentie .XXVI^a. ianuarii anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXX^o.VIII^o et infrascripto*, per la qual cosa nós, reebut per aquell primerament e abans sagrament sobre los [s]ants Evangelis de nostre senyor Déu de la man dreita de aquell corporalment tocats, segons forma de fur, que bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de cirurgia e en la forma dessús dita, e no en àls, havem donat e atorgat a aquell llicència de usar e prati[c]ar en la dita ciutat de València e regne de aquella de la dita a[r]t de cirurgia sens temor de alcuna p[e]na. En testimoni de les quals coses manam li // li (*sic*) ésser feyta la present carta testimonial ab [lo] segell del nostre offici en pendent sagellada. *Data Valentie .XXIX^o. die ianuarii anno a nativitate [Dom]ini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXXVIII^o.*

* * *

To all officials in the kingdom of Valencia to whom these presents may come, or to their lieutenants; from us, Jacme Valleriola, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and honor.

By these presents we notify you that master Andreu Martí, of the village of Guinarch, has been examined by the honorable Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Jacme d'Avinyó, bachelor in medicine, citizens of the said city, examiners appointed for the current year by us and by the honorable *jurats* of the aforesaid city to examine each and every practitioner of physic and of surgery wishing to begin to practice the said art in the said city of Valencia and its kingdom; by whom the said master Andreu Martí has been found competent to practice and employ the art of surgery—that is, in dindimal rupture or hernial swelling, in which the intestine or the cre[. . .] is displaced and comes out from the inner parts to the *mirach*, namely *in dindimo* and *osseo seu testiculorum bursa*, and no more—as is certified to us by a letter from the said examiners given to us by the said master Andreu Martí, which was “given at Valencia 26 January 1388 *et infrascripto*.” Wherefore we, having first received from him an oath on the holy Gospels of our Lord God, while he physically touched them with his right hand, as prescribed by the *fur*, that he will engage well and loyally in the said art of surgery in the manner specified above, have given him license to practice the said art of surgery in the said city of Valencia and its kingdom without fear of any penalty. In testimony of which things we have ordered the present certificate to be drawn up for him, sealed with the pendent seal of our office.

Given at Valencia on the 29th day of January 1388 AD.

Valencia, 29 January 1388.

Guillem Gaubert of Montauban (France) receives a license to practice surgery in the kingdom of Valencia (ARV, Justícia Civil, 550, fol. 37r-v).

Als honrats universes e sengles officials o loch de senyoria tinents dins lo regne de València constituïts als quals la present pervendrà o presentada serà, o a lus lochtinents. De nós, En Jacme Valleriola, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. Salut e honor. Per tenor de les presents vos significam que mestre Guillem Gaubert, de la ciutat de Muntalbà, prop Tolosa, és stat examinat per los honrats e discrets En Jacme Maderes, mestre en arts e en medicina, e En Jacme d'Avinyó, batxeler en medicina, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, examinadors en l'any present deputats e assignats per nós e per los honrats jurats de la ciutat damunt dita a examinar tots e sengles metges de física e de cirurgia volents novellament practicar e usar de la dita art en la dita ciutat de València e regne de aquella, per los quals lo dit mestre Guillem Gaubert és stat atrobat apte e suficient de usar e practicar de art de cirurgia, segons que a nós és cert per letra dels dits examinadors per lo dit mestre Guillem Gaubert a nós presentada, *que data fuit Valentie .XXVII^a. ianuarii anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC^o.LXXX^o. octavo et infrascripto*, per la qual cosa nós, reebut per aquell primerament e abans sacrament sobre los sants Evangelis de nostre senyor Déu, de la mà dreta de aquell corporalment tocats, segons forma de fur, que bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de cirurgia, havem donat a aquell llicència de usar e practicar en la dita ciutat de València e regne de // aquella de la dita art de cirurgia sens temor de alcuna pena. En testimoni de les quals coses manam li ésser feyta la present carta testimonial ab lo segell del nostre offici en pendent sagellada. *Data Valentie .XXIX^a. die ianuarii anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXX^o. octavo.*

* * *

To all officials in the kingdom of Valencia to whom these presents may come, or to their lieutenants; from us, Jacme Valleriola, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and honor. By these presents we notify you that master Guillem Gaubert of the city of Montauban, near Toulouse, has been examined by the honorable masters Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Jacme d'Avinyó, bachelor in medicine, citizens of the said city, examiners appointed for the current year by us and by the honorable *jurats* of the aforesaid city to examine each and every practitioner of physic and of surgery wishing to begin to practice the said art in the said city of Valencia and its kingdom; by whom the said master Guillem Gaubert has been found

competent to practice the art of surgery, as certified to us by a letter from the said examiners given to us by the said master Guillem Gaubert, which was "given at Valencia 27 January 1388 *et infrascripto*." Wherefore we, having first received from him an oath on the holy Gospels of our Lord God, while he physically touched them with his right hand, as prescribed by the *fur*, that he will act well and loyally in the said art of surgery, have given him license to practice the said art of surgery in the said city of Valencia and its kingdom without fear of any penalty. In testimony of which things we have ordered the present certificate to be drawn up for him, sealed with the pendent seal of our office.

Given at Valencia 19 January 1388 AD.

17

Valencia, 20 February 1388.

Joan Cabrera, of Valencia, is granted a licence to practice medicine and surgery in the kingdom of Valencia (ARV, Justícia Civil, 550, fol. 38r-v).

Anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXX^o.VII[II]^o., die iovis .XX^a. februarii. Denant l'onrat En Jacme [V]aylleriola, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil, comparech En Johan Cabrera, cirurgia, et a instància e requisició de aquell, lo dit justícia manà ésser feta a aquell la letra següent:

Als honrats universes e sengles oficials e loch de senyoria tinents dins lo regne de València constituïts als quals la present pervendrà o presentada serà. De nós, En Jacme Valleriola, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. Salut e honor. Per tenor de la present vos significam que l'honrat En Francesch Despulgues, cavaller, justícia de la dita ciutat en lo civil, precessor nostre en lo dit offici, ab letra sua de la tenor següent— "Als honrats universes e sengles oficials e loch de senyoria tinens dins lo regne de València constituïts als quals la present pervendrà o presentada serà, o a lurs lochtinents. De nós, En Francesch Despulgues, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. Salut e honor. Per tenor de les presents vos significam que En Johan Cabrera, habitant en la dita ciutat, és stat examinat per los honrats e discrets maestre Pere Figuerola e maestre Bernat d'Artesa, físichs de la dita ciutat, examinadós deputats e assignats per nós e per los honrats jurats de la ciutat damunt dita, per los quals lo dit En Johan Cabrera és stat atrobat apte e sufficient de usar e practicar de art de cirurgia, segons que a nós és cert per letra dels dits examinadors per lo dit En Johan Cabrera a nós presentada, *que data fuit Valentie .XI^a. die mensis februarii anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXX^o. septimo et infrascripto*, per la qual cosa nós, reebut de aquell primerament e abans sagrament sobre los sants Evangelis de nostre senyor Déu, de la man dreta de aquell corporalment tocats, segons forma de fur, que bé e lealment se haurà en

la dita art de cirurgia, havem donat e atorgat a aquell llicència de usar e practicar en la dita ciutat de València e regne de aquella de la dita art de cirurgia sens temor de alguna pena. En testimoni de les quals coses manam li ésser feyta la present carta testimonial ab lo sagell del nostre offici en pendent sagellada. *Data Valentie .XII^a. die februarii anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC^o. LXXX^o. septimo.*—haver donada llicència e facult[at] al dit En Johan Cabrera, habitant en la dita ciutat, examinat e sufficient trobat per los honrats e discrets maestre Pere Figuerola e maestre Bernat d'Artesa de usar e practicar de art de cirurgia en la dita ciutat e regne de València, segons que en la desús dita letra havem vist ésser contengut. E en lo dia de huy, data de la present, lo dit En Johan Cabrera sia comparegut denant nós, dient que com ell duptàs per vigor de la desús dita llicència en l'any present e d'ací avant usar e practicar de la dita art de cirurgia e de físicha, e per ço ha supplicat e request nós, axí com a president en lo dit offici, e als honrats jurats de la dita ciutat, que ab altra letra nostra donàssem a aquell semblant llicència que.l dit nostre predecessor havia donada e atorgada a aquell, e més encara, ampliant la dita llicència donàssem a aquell llicència de usar e practicar de art de físicha, e nós, vehents les dites coses requestes e supplicades ésser justes e a rahó consonants, per tal, ab tenor de la present, per auctoritat de l'offici del qual usam, de voler dels dits honrats jurats de la dita ciutat, donam e atorgam a vós, dit En Johan Cabrera, llicència e plenària facultat de usar e practicar en la dita ciutat e regne de València de les dites arts de cirurgia e físicha sens encorrimment de les penes en fur de València sobre açò stablides. En testimoni de les quals coses manam ésser feta e liurada la present letra testimonial ab lo sagell de l'offici a nós comanat en pendent sagellada. *Data Valentie .XX^a. die februarii anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXX^o.VIII^o.*

* * *

In the year of our Lord 1388, Thursday 20 February, Johan Cabrera, surgeon, appeared before the honorable Jacme Vaylleriola, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia, and at his request the said justiciar commanded the following letter to be drawn up for him:

To all officials in the kingdom of Valencia to whom these presents may come; from us, Jacme Valleriola, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and honor. By these presents we notify you that the honorable Francesch Despulgues, knight, civil justiciar of the said city and our predecessor in the said office, with a letter reading as follows— "To all officials in the kingdom of Valencia to whom these presents may come, or to their lieutenants; from us, Francesch Despulgues, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and honor. By these presents we notify you that Johan Cabrera, an inhabitant of the said city, has been examined by the honorable masters Pere Figuerola and Bernat d'Artesa, physicians of the said city, examiners appointed by us and by the honorable *jurats* of the aforesaid city, by whom the said Johan Cabrera has been found competent to practice the art of surgery, as certified to us by a letter from the said examiners given to us by the said Johan Cabrera, which was 'given at Valencia 11 February 1387 *et infrascripto*.' Wherefore we, having first received from him an oath on the holy Gospels of our Lord God, while he

physically touched them with his right hand, as prescribed by the *fur*, that he will act well and loyally in the said art of surgery, have given him license to practice the said art of surgery in the said city of Valencia and its kingdom without fear of any penalty. In testimony of which things we have ordered the present certificate to be drawn up for him, sealed with the pendent seal of our office. Given at Valencia 12 February 1387 AD.” —gave license to the said Johan Cabrera, living in the said city and examined and found competent by the honorable masters Pere Figuerola and Bernat d’Artesa, to practice the art of surgery in the said city and kingdom of Valencia, as we have verified in the letter given above. And today, on the date of this letter, the said Johan Cabrera has appeared before us, saying that because he questioned the validity of the above license for the current year for practicing the said art of surgery *and physic* from today henceforth, he wished us as presiding in the said office together with the honorable *jurats* of the said city to grant him another letter of our own, granting him a license similar to that which our said predecessor granted to him; and more, to extend the said license by granting him license to practice the art of physic. And we, seeing these things requested to be just and reasonable, therefore by these presents, by the authority of the office which we perform, by the will of the said honorable *jurats* of the said city, grant to you the said Johan Cabrera license and full permission to practice the said arts of surgery and physic in the said city and kingdom of Valencia without incurring the penalties laid down by the *furs* of Valencia in this regard. In testimony of which things we have ordered the present certificate to be drawn up and given to him, sealed with the pendent seal of the office committed to us.

Given at Valencia, 20 February 1388 AD.

18

Valencia, 13 April 1388.

Jucef Çameja, Jew of Alzira, is authorized to practice medicine throughout the kingdom of Valencia (ARV, Justicia Civil, 550, fols. 39v–40r).

Als honrats universes e sengles officials e loch de senyoria tinentes dins lo regne de València consti[tu]jits als quals la present pervendrà o presentada serà, o a lurs lochtinents. De nós, En Jacme Valleriola, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. Sal(u)t e honor. Per tenor de les presents vos significam que Jucef Çameja, juheu del loch de Alzezira, és stat examinat per los honrats e discrets En Jacme Maderes, mestre en arts e en medicina, e En Jacme d’Avinyó, bachelier en medicina, ciuta//dans de la dita ciutat de València, examinadors, en l’any present d[i]putats e assignats per nós e per l’onrats jurats de la dita ciutat, de física, e per los quals lo dit Jucef Çameja és stat atrobat apte e suficient a usar e praticar de la dita art de física, segons que a nós és cert per letra dels dits examinadors per lo dit Jucef Çameja a nós presentada, *que data fuit Valentie .X^a. die aprilis anno a nativitate Do-*

mini millesimo .CCC°.LXXX°. octavo et infrascripto, per la qual cosa nós, reebut per aquell primerament e abans sacrament sobre los deu manaments de la lig que Déus donà a Moysé en lo mont de Sinaý de la man dreita de aquell corporalment toquats, segons forma de fur, que bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de física, havem donat a aquell licència de usar e practicar en la dita ciutat de València e regne de aquella de la dita art de física sens temor de alguna pena. En testimoni de les quals coses manam li éser feyta la present carta testimonial ab lo segell del nostre ofici en pendent segellada. *Data Valentie .XIIIª. mensis aprilis anno a nativitate Domini .M°.CCC°.LXXX°.VIII°.*

* * *

To all honorable officials in the kingdom of Valencia to whom these presents may come, or to their lieutenants; from us, Jacme Valleriola, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and honor.

By these presents I declare to you that Jucef Çameja, a Jew from the village of Alzira, has been examined by the honorable Jacme Maderes, master in arts and in medicine, and Jacme d'Avinyó, bachelor in medicine, citizens of the said city of Valencia, examiners in physic appointed for the current year by us and by the honorable *jurats* of the said city, and that the said Jucef Çameja has been found competent by them to practice the said art of physic, as is certified to us by a letter from the said examiners given to us by the said Jucef Çameja, "given at Valencia 10 April 1389 *et infrascripto*." Wherefore we, having first received from him an oath on the ten commandments of the law that God gave to Moses on Mount Sinai while he physically touched them with his right hand, as prescribed by the *fur*, that he will act well and loyally in the said art of physic, have given him license to practice the said art of physic in the said city of Valencia and its kingdom without fear of any penalty. In testimony of which things we have ordered the present certificate to be drawn up for him, sealed with the pendent seal of our office.

Given at Valencia, 13 April 1388 AD.

19

Valencia, 16 April 1388.

En Martí Saranyana, bachelor in arts and in medicine, from Xàtiva, presents himself before Jacme Valleriola, civil justiciar of Valencia, with a letter from Jacme de Maderes and Jacme de Avinyó (municipal examiners of physicians and surgeons) in which they certify that they have examined him and determined that he is qualified to practice the art of medicine (ARV, Justicia Civil, 550, fol. 40v [incomplete]).

20

Valencia, 19 February 1389.

The municipal examiners of physicians and surgeons notify the civil justiciar of Valencia that Francesc Descade of Morvedre (= Sagunt) has been examined and found qualified to practice surgery (ARV, Justícia Civil, 593-ter, fol. 27r-v).

Al molt honrat mossén Pelegrí de Montagut, cavaller, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil en lo present any. [De] nós, mestre Guillem Çes-Fàbregues e mestre Pere Figuerola, mestres en arts e en medecina, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, e examinadós deputats e assignats per los honrats justícies e jurats de la dita ciutat per examinar tots e sengles metges de físicha e de cirurgia vinents novellament practicar e usar de les dites arts en la ciutat de València e regne de aquella. Salut, ab creximent de prosperitat e honor. Sàpia la vostra hon[rad]la discreció ésser compa(re)gut denant nós En Francesch Descade, habitant en la vila de Murvedre, dient e afermant sí voler usar e practica[r] de art de cirurgia, requirent que per nós fos examinat. Lo qual nós havem examinat bé e diligentment, lo qual nós havem atrobat suficient en la dita art de cirurgia. Per què, honrat justícia, instant e requirent lo dit En Francesch Descade, per la tenor de la present vos certificham e us requerim e pregam en deute de justícia que us plàcia donar licència e fer aquella carta testimonial, segons que en semblants fets per vós [e] vostra cort és acustu[m]at fer, prestant ans e primerament per ell sacrament de usar e practicar bé e lealment en la dita art. *Data Valentie .XVIII. februarii anno a nati[vitate] Domini .M.CCC°.LXXX. nono.*

* * *

To the honorable Pelegrí de Montagut, knight, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia for the current year; from us, master Guillem Ça-Fàbrega and master Pere Figuerola, masters in arts and in medicine, citizens of the said city, examiners appointed by the honorable justiciars and *jurats* of the said city for the present year to examine each and every practitioner of the art of physic and surgery newly arrived to practice the said arts in the city of Valencia and its kingdom: greetings, with increase of wealth and honor.

May your worship know that Francesc Descade, an inhabitant of the town of Morvedre, has appeared before us affirming that he wishes to practice the art of surgery, and asking to be examined by us; we have examined him carefully and have found him competent in the said art of surgery. Wherefore, honored justiciar, at the request of the said Francesch Descade, we certify to you by these presents and ask you in accordance with the law that it please you to give him a license and

prepare a certificate for him, as you and your court are accustomed to do in such cases, he first of all taking oath to act and practice well and loyally in the said art.

Given at Valencia, 18 February 1389 AD.

21

Valencia, 7 July 1389.

The municipal examiners of physicians and surgeons request the civil justiciar of Valencia to grant a license to extract vesical calculi to Joan Gaschó, who has submitted to an examination and been found qualified (ARV, Justícia Civil, 593-ter, fol. 34r).

Al molt honorable mossén En Pelegrí de Muntagut, cavaller, justícia en lo civil en la ciutat de València.

Molt honorable sènher: Com algunes malalties sien a les quals comunament sia ignorant remey de medecina, natural rahó requir, per profit de la cosa pública, que si alcú és atrobat qui singularment sàpia la medicina de la dita malaltia, sia admés en praticar d'aquella. Com, donchs, nós, mestre Guillem Ça-Fàbrega e maestre Pere Figuerola, maestres en arts et en medecina, examinadors en lo present any dels metges e cirurgians novellament volents praticar en regne de València, ajam atrobat En Johan [Gaschó] apte e suficient en la cura de la pedra de la vexiga, aq[uel]la trahents sens lesió del pacient, segons que per diligent examinació et experiència per aquell denant nós feta havem atrobat, requirim la vostra saviea que aquest donets llicència de praticar e[n] la dita art de medecina tant solament, com d'aquella e no altra l'ajam examinat. En testimoni de la qual veritat posam aquí nostres sagells. Scrita en València dimecres a .VII. de juliol, l'any mill .CCC°.LXXX. e nou.

* * *

To the honorable Pelegrí de Muntagut, knight, civil justiciar in the city of Valencia.

Honorable lord: since there are some maladies for which no medical remedy is generally known, natural reason requires for the public good that if some person is found who knows the treatment for that malady, he should be allowed to treat it. Since therefore we, masters Guillem Ça-Fàbrega and Pere Figuerola, masters in arts and in medicine, examiners for the current year of physicians and surgeons wishing to begin to practice in the kingdom of Valencia, have found Joan Gaschó competent in the treatment of bladder stone, removing it without harm to the patient, as we have determined by careful examination and a demonstration carried out before us, we ask your worship

that you give him a licence to practice in that medical art and that one alone, since we have examined him in that and nothing more. In testimony of which truth we affix our seals here.

Given at Valencia, Wednesday 7 July 1389.

22

Valencia, 15 July 1389.

The municipal examiners of physicians and surgeons notify the civil justiciar of Valencia that the barber Pere Fraga, of Valencia, has been examined and found qualified to practice surgery (ARV, Justícia Civil, 593-ter, fol. 36r).

Al molt honorable mossén En Pelegrí de Muntag[u]t, cavaller, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. De nós, En Pere Figuerola e En Guillem Ça-Fàbrega, maestres en arts e en medecina, examinadors de medecina en l'any present. Salut e honor. Com En Pere Fraga, barber, vehí de la dita ciutat, sia per nós novellament examinat en cirurgia, certificam per les presents aquell per nós ésser atrobat apte e suficient a usar de cirurgia tant solament. Et en testimoni de la verita(t) ap-
posam ací nostres sagells. Scrita en València digous a .XV. dies del mes de juliol, l'any mil .CCC°.LXXX°. nono.

* * *

To the honorable Pelegrí de Muntagut, knight, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; from us, Pere Figuerola and Guillem Ça-Fàbrega, masters in arts and in medicine, examiners of medicine for the current year; health and honor.

Since Pere Fraga, barber, inhabitant of the said city, has recently been examined by us in surgery, we certify by these presents that he has been found by us competent to practice surgery and nothing more. And in testimony of the truth we affix our seals here.

Given at Valencia, Thursday the 15th day of July, 1389.

23

Valencia, 25 August 1389.

The municipal examiners of physicians and surgeons notify the civil justiciar of Valencia that they have examined Joan de Venecia and found him qualified to practice certain aspects of surgery (ARV, Justícia Civil, 593-ter, fol. 29r).

Al molt honorable mossén En Pelegrí de Montagut, cavaller, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. De nós, En Guillem Ça-Fàbrega e

En Pere Figuerola, maestres en arts e.n medicina, examinadors en l'any present d'aquells qui praticar volen novellament en medicina o cirurgia en la ciutat de València e regne de aquella. Salut. Com alguns casos sien en cirurgia forts difícils e perillosos de praticar, e pochs sien qui aquells gosen temptar, digna cosa és que si alcú, per longa pràctica, és trobat abte e suficient en aquells, per profit de la cosa pública sia admés en praticar en los dits casos. On, com maestre Johan de Venècia, segons que per examinació plenària havem trobat, sia suficient en aquests tres punts, ço és, en ruptura, la qual cura ab tall, e en pedra de vexiga a traure-la ab tall, e en abatere catarates dels hulls, intimam a vós, senyor, les dites coses, per tal que en aquells solament e no en altres li sia dada licència de praticar, com en totes altres confesse-s'í no ésser sabent ne volent praticar. Scrita en València a .XXV. dies del mes d'agost, l'any .M.CCC.LXXX. nou, e ací nostres sagells sotsposam.

* * *

To the honorable Pelegrí de Montagut, knight, civil justiciar in the city of Valencia; from us, Guillem Ça-Fàbrega and Pere Figuerola, masters in arts and in medicine, examiners for the current year of those who wish to begin to practice medicine or surgery in the city of Valencia and its kingdom; greetings.

Since there are some cases in surgery very difficult and dangerous to treat, and there are few who dare to attempt them, it is proper that if someone is found to have become competent in them through long practice he should be allowed to treat such cases for the public good. Hence, since master Joan de Venecia is competent in three areas (as we have fully determined by examination), that is, in hernia, which he treats with the knife, and in bladder stone, which he removes by incision, and in removing cataracts from the eyes, we inform you, lord, of these things, so that he may be given a license to treat these things alone and no others, since he acknowledges that he is not knowledgeable in any others and does not wish to treat them.

Written in Valencia on the 25th day of the month of August, 1389, and here we suffix our seals.

24

Valencia, 2 September 1389.

Vidal Benzunana, Jew of Valencia, is declared qualified to practice medicine by the municipal examiners of physicians and surgeons, who notify the civil justiciar that he should be granted a license (ARV, Justícia Civil, 593-ter, fols. 37v-38r).

Al molt honorable mosén En Pelegrí de Montagut, cavaler, justícia de la ciutat de València, o a son lochtinent. De nós, En Guillem Ça-Fà-

brega e En Pere Figuerola, mestres en arts e en medecina, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, examinadors en l'any present per los honrats justícia e jurats de la dita ciutat per examinar tots e sengles metges de art de física et de cirurgia vinents novellament practicar e usar de la dita art e(n) lochs e vil·les de regne de aquella. Salut, ab creximent de prosperitat e de honor. Sàpia la vostra honrada discreció ésser comparegut denant nós Vidal Benzunana, juheu de València, dient e afermant sí volent usar e practicar de art de física, lo qual havem bé e diligentment exhaminat e aquell havem atrobat suficient per practicar de la dita art de física. Per ço, de la suficiència e indústria del dit Vidal Benzunana certificant-vos per la present, per què us pregam e requirim en deute de justícia manar fer a.queu letra testimonial, en la qual aquesta sia insertada, prestat per ell // ans e primerament sacrament que bé e lealment usarà e practicarà de la art de física en la dita ciutat de València e vil·les e lochs de regne de aquella. En testimoni de la qual cosa fem vos fer la present letra, per nós a ell liurada, ab nostres sagells sagellada a dos dies del mes de setembre, *anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXX^o.IX^o.*

* * *

To the honorable Pelegrí de Montagut, knight, justiciar of the city of Valencia, or his lieutenant; from Guillem Ça-Fàbrega and Pere Figuerola, masters in arts and in medicine, citizens of the said city, examiners [appointed] by the honorable justiciars and *jurats* of the said city for the present year to examine each and every practitioner of the art of physic and surgery newly arrived to practice and employ this art in the villages and towns of this kingdom: greetings, with increase in wealth and honor.

May your worship know that Vidal Benzunana, a Jew of Valencia, has appeared before us affirming that he wishes to practice the art of physic; we have examined him carefully and have found him competent to practice the said art of physic. Wherefore we certify to you by these presents the competence and industry of the said Vidal Benzunana, and ask you in accordance with the law that it please you to prepare a certificate for him incorporating this [letter of ours], he first having sworn an oath to practice well and loyally the art of physic in the said city of Valencia and in the towns and villages of that kingdom. In testimony of which thing we have caused the present letter to be drawn up for you and given by us to him, sealed with our seals on the second day of September, 1389 AD.

Valencia, 29 November 1389.

The municipal examiners of physicians and surgeons notify the civil justiciar of Valencia that they have examined Johan de Sena and found him qualified to

practice three special surgical techniques, and ask that he be given a license to practice his art in Valencia and its kingdom (ARV, Justícia Civil, 593-ter, fols. 43r, 44r).

Al molt honorable mossén Pelegrí de Montagut, cavaller, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. Pere Figuerola (e) Guillem Ça-Fàbrega, maestres en arts // et en medicina, ciutadans de la dita ciutat et examinadors en la sciència de medicina per lo present any constituïts. Salut, ab deguda ho[nor]. Com mestre Johan de Sena se sia a nosaltres presentat que per sguart de nostre ofici deguéssen en tres parts de cirurgia él examinar, so és saber, en deposició de [ca]taratta, e en trenadura, e pedra de vexiga, e [a]quell hajam suficient en nostre examen atro[bat], com les dites coses stiguen més en speriència e hobra manual que no en theòrica de sciència, per què ab deguda reverència e instància a la vostra honorable discreció suplicam que, pres primerament de ell jurament, axí com en vostra honrada cort és acostumat, que lo dit mestre Johan vullats acceptar e a aquell de les dites coses donar llicència e praticar e usar en la dita ciutat e regne, e a ell fer carta segons la solemnita[t] en la dita cort acostumada. *Scriptum Valentie die dominica .XXVIII. mensis novembris anno a nativitate Domini .M^o. CCC^o.LXXXIX^o.*

* * *

To the honorable Pelegrí de Montagut, knight, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; Pere Figuerola and Guillem Ça-Fàbrega, masters in arts and in medicine, citizens of the said city appointed as examiners in the science of medicine for the present year; health, with proper honor.

Since master Johan de Sena has presented himself to us that we might examine him by virtue of our office in three parts of surgery—namely removal of cataract, hernia, and bladder stone—and since we have found him competent in our examination, since the said things pertain more to experience and manual activity than to scientific understanding, we ask your worship with due deference that, first taking an oath from him as your honorable court is accustomed to do, you accept the said master Johan and give him a certificate of these things and license to practice in the said city and kingdom, and to prepare a document for him according to the procedures of the said court.

Written at Valencia, Sunday, 28 November 1389 AD.

Valencia, 20 December 1389.

The municipal examiners of physicians and surgeons ask the civil justiciar of Valencia to grant a license to practice surgery to Francesc Moliner, who has been examined and found qualified (ARV, Justícia Civil, 593-ter, fol. 39v).

Al molt honorable mossén Pelegrí de Montagut, (justícia) de València en lo civil, de nós, mestre Pere Figuerola e mestre Guillem Ça-Fàbrega, examinadors en medicina en lo present any. Salut e honor. Com En Francesch Moliner, menor de dies, sia stat per nós examinat en art de cirurgia e aquell hajam trobat su[ficient] en tot ço que.s pertany a la sua art, per tal requerim la vostra saviea a aquell donar llicència de practicar segons que per fur e rahó conexerets ésser fahedor. En testimoni de la qual cosa posam aquí nostres seguells. Scrit en València dilluns a .XX. dies del mes de deembre, l'any .M.CCC.LXXXIX.

* * *

To the honorable Pelegrí de Montagut, civil justiciar of Valencia; from us, masters Pere Figuerola and Guillem Ça-Fàbrega, examiners in medicine for the current year: health and honor.

Since Francesc Moliner the younger has been examined by us in the art of surgery, and since we have found him competent in all that pertains to his art, we therefore ask your worship to grant him a licence to practice in the manner that you know is warranted by law and reason. In testimony of which thing we here affix our seals.

Written in Valencia, Monday, the 20th day of December, 1389.

27

Valencia, 21 March 1390.

The civil justiciar of Valencia grants a license to Toríbio Gonçálvez to treat hernias, at the recommendation of the municipal examiners of physicians and surgeons (ARV, Justícia Civil, 616-bis, fols. 21v-22r).

Als honrats universes e sengles oficials e loch de senyoria tinents dins lo regne de València constituïts als quals la present pervendrà o presentada serà, o a lurs lochtinents. De nós, En Guillem Estrany, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil. Salut e honor. Per tenor de les presents vos certificam que En Toríbio Gonçálvez és estat examinat per los honrats e discrets En Bernat d'Artessa e En Gabriel Dezcortell, mestres en arts e en medecina, ciutadans de la dita ciutat, examinadors en l'any present deputats e assignats per nós e per los honrats jurats de la damunt dita ciutat a examinar tots e sengles metges de física e de serorgia volents novellament practicar e usar de la dita art en la dita ciutat e regne de aquella, per los quals lo dit En Toríbio Gonçálvez és estat atrobat apte e suficient de usar e practicar de art de trencadura, segons que a nós és cert per letra dels dits examinadors per lo dit En Toríbio Gonçálvez a nós presentada, la qual és de la tenor següent:

Molt honorable justícia: Notificam a la saviea vostra nosaltres haver bé e diligentment diligentment (*sic*) examinat En Toríbio Gonçalveç, lo qual volrà praticar en la ciutat de València e regne de aquella de malaltia apellada trencadura, per què, com lo dit En Toríbio Gonçalveç ajam trobat abte e suficient de praticar de la dita malaltia e com aquell encara, per descàrech // nostre, ajam volgut venir obrar en presència de nosaltres, lo qual ha obrat e curat de la sobredita malaltia a Minguíquo Aznar, fadrí de .XIII. ans, fill d'En Domingo Aznar, del loch de Novalixes, terme de Exèrica, per què, com les dites coses sien e són veres, suplicam a vós per deute de justícia que aquell vullats prestar vostra acturitat e donar llicència que la desús dita malaltia puxa usar e praticar tant solament e no de altra en la ciutat de València e en lo regne de aquella, e de altra malaltia de cerurgia no gos praticar ni presumesca, rebent d'él sacrament que contra les dites coses no farà. Aparelats tota veguada nosaltres per vos complir les vostres justs manaments en semblants coses e.n altres obehir, en testimoni de veritat aposam en la present letra los sagells nostres. Scruta en València, disabte, a .XVIII. de març de l'any .M.CCC. noranta. Maestre Bernat d'Artesa, maestre Gabriel Dezcortell, examinadors en l'any present.

Per la qual cosa nós, reebut de aquell primerament e abans sagrament sobre los sants Evvangelis de Déu per les sues mans corporalment tocats, segons forma de fur, que bé e lealment se haurà en la dita art de trencadura, havem donat aquell llicència de usar e praticar en la ciutat de València e regne de aquella de la dita art de trencadura sens temor de alguna pena. En testimoni de les quals coses manam li ésser feta la present carta testimonial ab lo sagell del dit ofici en pendent sagellada. *Data Valentie .XXI^a. marcii anno a nativitate Domini .M^o. CCC^o.LXXXX^o.*

* * *

To all officials in the kingdom of Valencia, or to their lieutenants, to whom these presents may come; from us, Guillem Estrany, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and honor. By these presents I certify to you that Toríbio Gonçalvez has been examined by the honorable Bernat d'Artesa and Gabriel Dezcortell, masters in arts and in medicine, citizens of the said city, appointed by us and by the honorable *jurats* of the aforesaid city as examiners for the current year to examine each and every practitioner of physic and of surgery wishing to begin to practice the said art in the said city and its kingdom; and that the said Toríbio Gonçalvez has been found competent to practice the treatment of hernia, as certified to us by a letter from the said examiners given to us by the said Toríbio Gonçalvez, whose tenor is as follows:

Most honored justiciar: we inform your worship that we have well and diligently examined Toríbio Gonçalvez, who wishes to treat the malady called hernia in the city of Valencia and its kingdom, and that since we found the

said Toríbio Gonçalveç competent to treat the said malady, and since we wished him to operate in our presence, to discharge us of responsibility, and he did treat the aforesaid malady in Minguíquo Aznar, a boy of 14 years, the son of Domingo Aznar of Novalixes in Jérica, therefore, since the said things are true, we request that in accordance with the law you give your consent and grant him license to treat the aforesaid malady alone, and nothing else, within the city of Valencia and its kingdom—nor may he practice or presume to any other surgical complaint—receiving from him an oath that he will not contravene these conditions, we being always ready to fulfill your just commands in these and other matters. In testimony of the truth we affix our seals to the present letter.

Written in Valencia, Saturday, the 18th of March 1390. Master Bernat d'Artesa, master Gabriel Dezcortell, examiners for the current year.

Wherefore we, having first received from him an oath on the holy Gospels of God touched physically by his hands, in the manner prescribed by the *fur*, that he will well and loyally carry out the said treatment of hernia, have given him licence to practice the said treatment of hernia in the city of Valencia and its kingdom without fear of any penalty. In testimony of which things we have commanded that the present certificate be made for him, sealed with the seal of the said office affixed.

Given at Valencia, 21 March 1390 AD.

28

Valencia, 26 October 1390.

The municipal examiners of physicians and surgeons recommend to the civil justiciar of Valencia that he grant the Jew Vidal Albar a license to practice medicine (ARV, Justícia Civil, 616-bis, fols. 22v-23v).

A l'honrat En Guillem Strany, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil en lo present any. De nós, maestre Bernat de Artesa e maestre Guabriel Dezcortell, físichs, examinadors diputats e assignats per los honrats justícia e jurats de la dita ciutat per examinar tots e sengles metges de física e silorgia vinents novellament practicar e usar de les dites arts en la ciutat de València e regne de aquella. Salut, ab acreixement de prosperitat e honor. Sàpia la vostra honrada discreció ésser comparegut denant nós Vidal Albar, juheu, requerint que per nós fos examinat en la dita física, lo qual havem examinat bé e diligentment, e encara més havem legida una letra en la qual se conté que en *Barchinona* és estat e diligentment examinat per maestre Bernat Oriol e per aquell ja en la dita ciutat havie obtenguda llicència. Per què, honrat sènyer justícia, instant e requirint lo dit Vidal Albar, per la tenor de la present vos certificam les dites coses e us requerim e pregam en deute

de justícia, que us plàcia donar licència e fer a aquell carta testimonial, segons que en semblants fets per vós e vostra cort és acostumat fer, prestat ans e primerament per ell sagrament sobre.lls .X. manaments usar e practicar bé e lealment de la dita art de física, com nós, sènyer, siam aparellats los vostres justs manaments obeir. En testimoni de les quals coses fem-vos la present // letra testimonial ab nostres sagells sagellada. *Data Valentie die mercurii .XXVI^a. octobris anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXX^o.*

* * *

To the honorable Guillem Strany, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia for the present year; from us, master Bernat de Artesa and master Guabriel Dezcartell, physicians, appointed by the honorable justiciars and *jurats* of the said city as examiners to examine each and every practitioner of physic and surgery newly arrived to practice these arts in the city and kingdom of Valencia: health and increase in wealth and honor.

May your worship know that Vidal Albar, Jew, has appeared before us asking that he be examined by us in the said physic; we have examined him carefully, and moreover have read a letter stating that he has been living in Barcelona, was thoroughly examined [there] by master Bernat Oriol, and therefore has already obtained a license in that city. Wherefore, honored sir, at the request of the said Vidal Albar, we certify to you by these presents the aforesaid facts and ask you in accordance with the law that you grant him a license and prepare a certificate for him, as you and your court are accustomed to do in similar cases, he having first of all taken oath on the Ten Commandments to practice well and loyally the said art of physic, as we, lord, are prepared to obey your just commands. In testimony of which things we have prepared for you the present certificate sealed with our seals.

Given at Valencia, Wednesday, 26 October 1390 AD.

29

Valencia, 15 November 1390.

The municipal examiners of physicians and surgeons recommend to the civil justiciar of Valencia that he grant Guillem Metge a license to practice surgery (ARV, Justícia Civil, 616-bis, fol. 33r).

A l'honrat lo senyor En Guillem Strany, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil en lo present any. De nós, maestre Bernat Artesa e

maestre Gabriel Dezcartell, físichs e exhaminadors diputats e assignats per los honrats justícia e jurats de la dita ciutat per eximenar (*sic*) tots e sengles metges de física e celorgia vinents novellament practicar e usar de les dites arts en la ciutat de València e.n regne de aquella. Salut e creximent de prosperitat e honor. Sàpia la vostra discrecció ésser comparegut denant nós En Guillem Metge, celorgià, ciutadà de València, dient e affermant sí voler usar e practicar de art de cirurgia, requirent que per nós fos exhaminat, lo qual nós havem bé e deligenment exhaminat e aquell havem atrobat suficient en art de cirurgia. Per què, honrat justícia, instant e requirent lo dit En Guillem Metge, per tenor de la present vos certificam e us requerim e pregam en deute de justícia que us plàcia donar licència e fer a.queu carta testimonial, segons que en senblants fets per vós e vostra cort és acostumat fer, prestat ans e primerament per él sagrament de practicar bé (e) lealment de la dita art, e que no s'entrametrà en res de física, com nós, sènyer, siam apparellats los vostres justs manaments obeir. En testimoni de les quals coses fem-vos la present letra testimonial ab nostres sagells sagellada. *Data Valentie* dimarts a .XV. de novembre de l'any de la nativitat de nostre Senyor .M.CCC.LXXXX.

* * *

To the honorable Guillem Strany, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia for the present year; from us, master Bernat de Artesa and master Guabriel Dezcartell, physicians and examiners appointed by the honorable justiciars and *jurats* of the said city to examine each and every practitioner of physic and surgery newly arrived to practice these arts in the city and kingdom of Valencia: health and increase in wealth and honor.

May your worship know that the surgeon Guillem Metge, a citizen of Valencia, has appeared before us stating that he wishes to practice the art of surgery, and asking that he be examined by us; we have examined him carefully and have found him competent in the art of surgery. Wherefore, honored sir, at the request of the said Guillem Metge, we certify to you by these presents the aforesaid facts and ask you in accordance with the law that you grant him a license and prepare a certificate for him, as you and your court are accustomed to do in similar cases, he having first of all taken oath to practice the said art well and loyally, and not to involve himself at all in physic, as we, lord, are prepared to obey your just commands. In testimony of which things we have prepared for you the present certificate sealed with our seals.

Given at Valencia, Tuesday, 15 November 1390 AD.

Valencia, 21 November 1390.

The municipal examiners of physicians and surgeons recommend to the civil justiciar of Valencia that he grant a license to practice medicine to Haabram Cofen Crespín, a Jew of Elx (ARV, Justícia Civil, 616-bis, fol. 34r-v).

A l'honorat En Guillem Strany, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo civil en lo present any. De nós, mestre Bernat d'Artesa e mestre Guabriel Dezcortell, físichs, examinadors deputats e assignats per los honrats justícia e jurats de la dita ciutat per examinar tots e sengles metges de física e de cilorgia volents novellament praticar e usar de les dites arts en la ciutat de València e regne de aquella. Salut ab acreximent de prosperitat e de honor. Sàpia la vostra honrada discreció ésser comparegut denant nós Haabram Cofen Crespín, habitador del loch e vila de Elch, dient e affermant sí voler usar e praticar de art de físicha, requerint aquí per nós fos examinat, lo qual havem examinat bé e diligentment e aquell havem atrobat ésser suficient en físiqua. Per què, honrat sènyer justícia, instant e requirent lo dit Haabram Cofen Crespín, per la tenor de la present vos certificam les dites coses e us requerim e preguam en deute de justícia que us plàcia donar a. quel llicència de físicha o fer carta testimonial, segons que per vós e vostra cort és acostumat fer, prestat ans e primerament per ell sagrament de praticar bé e lealment de la dita art de físicha, com nós, sènyer, siam aparellats los vostres justs manaments hobeir. En testimoni de les quals coses fem-vos fer la present letra testimonial ab nostres sagells sagellada. *Data en València a .XXI^a. de noembre, anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC^o.LXXXX^o.*

* * *

To the honorable Guillem Strany, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia for the present year; from us, master Bernat de Artesa and master Guabriel Dezcortell, physicians appointed by the honorable justiciars and *jurats* of the said city as examiners to examine each and every practitioner of physic and surgery wishing to begin to practice these arts in the city and kingdom of Valencia: health and increase in wealth and honor.

May your worship know that Haabram Cofen Crespín, an inhabitant of the town of Elx, has appeared before us stating that he wishes to practice the art of physic, and asking that he be examined by us; we have examined him and have found him competent in the art of physic. Wherefore, honored lord, at the request of the said Haabram Cofen Crespín, we certify to you by these presents the aforesaid facts and ask in accordance with the law that you grant him a license for

physic and prepare a certificate for him as you and your court are accustomed to do, he first of all taking oath to practice the said art of physic well and loyally, as we, lord, are prepared to obey your just commands. In testimony of which things we have prepared for you the present certificate sealed with our seals.

Given at Valencia, 21 November 1390 AD.

31

Valencia, 9 December 1396.

Grant of a license to practice medicine in the city and kingdom of Valencia to Pere Ferràndiz, a native of Alzira living in Castillo de Garcimuñoz (ARV, Justícia Civil, 718-bis, fols. 16r-18r).

Anno a nativitate Domini millesimo .CCC^o.XC^o. sexto, die sabbati .IX^a. mensis decembris. Denant l'onrat En Johan de Torragrossa, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo cevil, comparech En Pere Ferràndiz, natural de la vila de Algezira e vehí del Castell de García, e presentà a aquell huna letra dels honrats mestre Pere Figuerola e de mestre Vicent Serra, examinadors dels metges l'any present, uberta, en paper escrita, sagellada ab dos sagells dels dits examinadors ab cera vermella, la tenor de la qual és *ut sequitur*:

Al molt honorable sènher En Johan de Torragrossa, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo cevil en l'any dejús scrit. Nós, mestre Pere Figuerola e maestre Vicent Serra, per vós examinadors dels metges en aquell mateix any, notificam a vós, sènher honorable justícia, que com En Pere Ferràndiz sia per nós diligentment examinat en art de medecina de física, e aquell haver trobat suficient a usar de la dita art. En testimoni de la qual cosa metem-hi nostres sagells. Scrita en València l'any de la nativitat de nostre Senyor mil .CCC.LXXXX. sis, a nou dies del mes de deembre.

E presen[t]ada la dita la dita (*sic*) letra, encontinent lo dit hon[ra]t justícia reebé sacrament del dit En Pere Ferràndiz, metge físich que dessús, per virtut del qual féu promissió e obligació següent: //

En Pere Ferràndiz, metge físich qui dessús, jurà sobre los sants Evvangelis de Déu, de la sua man dreta corporalment tocats, que bé e lealment se aurà en la dita art de física e, sots pena encara de cent morabatins, no participarà en los salaris dels apothecaris, e que no rebrà encara algú o alguna qui sia greument malalt si donchs primerament lo malalt no aurà confessat, sinó en tal cas de perill de mort que la triga fos perillosa, e ladonchs no sia feta la segona visitació tro lo pacient haja confessat. Et axí mateix jurà *ut supra* que les receptes que dictarà, ha[j]a a dictar en romanç, declarant los noms de les herbes e de les altres coses medicinals en lur nom comú e vulgar. Et axí mateix, haja a

declarar los noms del pes o mesura de les dites coses, en manera que.s puxa clarament entendre per la gent popular, segons forma de fur, e servir totes aquelles coses en aquell contengudes.

Et rebut lo dit sagrament del dit En Pere Ferràndiz, metge dessús dit, encontinent lo dit honrat justícia donà e atorgà licència e plen poder al dit En Pere Ferrà(n)diz de usar e practicar de art de física dins la ciutat e regne de València sens alguna pena, manan li ésser feta letra testimonial de les dites coses *prout sequitur*: //

Als honrats universes e sengles officials e loch de senyoria tinents dins lo regne de València constituïts als quals la present pervindrà o presentada serà, o a lurs lochtinents. De nós, En Johan de Torragrossa, justícia de la ciutat de València en lo cevil. Salut e honor. Per tenor de les presents vos significam que En Pere Ferràndiz, natural de la vila de Algezira, ara dient-se vehí del Castell de García Munyoc, és stat examinat per los honrats e discrets mestre Pere Figuerola e mestre Vicent Serra, maestres en ar[t]s e en medecina de la dita ciutat, examinadors diputats e assignats per nós e per los honrats jurats de la ciutat damunt dita, per los quals lo dit En Pere Ferràndiz és stat atrobat apte et // suficient de usar e practicar en art de física, segons que a nós és cert per letra dels dits examinadors per lo dit En Pere Ferràndiz a nós presentada, la qual és de la tenor següent: (*here follows the text of the letter already given above*). Per la qual cosa nós, reebut de aquell primerament e abans sagrament sobre los sants Evvangelis, per aquell de la sua man dreita corporalment tocats, segons forma de fur, que bé e lealment se aurà en la dita art de física, havem donat e atorgat a aquell licenciat (*sic*) de usar e practicar en la dita ciutat de València e regne de aquella de la dita art de física sens temor de alguna pena. En testimoni de les quals coses manam li ésser feta la // present carta testimonial ab lo sagell del nostre offici en pendent. *Data Valentie .IX^a. mensis decembris anno a nativitate Domini .M^o.CCC.LXXX(X)^o. sexto.*

Presents testimonis foren a les dites coses, En Bernat Taverner e En Ramon del Mas, scrivents en la dita cort.

* * *

In the year 1396 AD, Saturday 9 December, appeared before the honorable Johan de Torragrossa, civil justiciar of Valencia, Pere Ferràndiz, a native of the town of Alzira but living in Castillo de Garcimuñoz; who presented a letter from the honorable masters Pere Figuerola and Vicent Serra, examiners of physicians for the year, open, written on paper, sealed in red wax with the two seals of the said examiners, whose tenor is as follows:

To the honorable lord Johan de Torragrossa, civil justiciar in the city of Valencia for the year written below; we, master Pere Figuerola and master Vicent Serra, examiners of physicians for the same year, certify to you, lord justiciar, that Pere Ferràndiz has been carefully examined by us in the medical art of

physic, and has been found competent to practice the said art. In testimony of which fact we affix our seals.

Written in Valencia in the year 1396 AD, on the ninth day of December.

Having been given the said letter, the said honorable justiciar immediately took the oath of the above Pere Ferràndiz, practitioner of physic, by which he made the following promise:

En Pere Ferràndiz, the above practitioner of physic, swears on the holy Gospels of God, touching them physically with the right hand, that he will perform well and loyally in the said art of physic and, under penalty of 100 morabatins, will not share in the fees of apothecaries; and will not treat anyone who is seriously ill, man or woman, if the patient has not first made confession, except in a potentially fatal case where a delay would be dangerous, and then he will not make a second visit until the patient has confessed. Likewise he swears in the same manner that he will give prescriptions for medicines in the vulgar tongue, naming herbs and other medicinal things by their common or popular names. Likewise he shall give weights and measures of the said things in a manner that can be readily understood by the common people, in the manner prescribed by the *furs*, and to obey all the things contained therein.

Having received the said oath from the said Pere Ferràndiz, the practitioner named above, the said honorable justiciar granted licence and full authority to the said Pere Ferràndiz to practice the art of physic in the city and kingdom of Valencia without any penalty, ordering a certificate of these things to be drawn up for him as follows:

To all officials in the kingdom of Valencia, or their lieutenants, to whom these presents may come; from us, Johan de Torragrossa, civil justiciar of the city of Valencia; health and honor. By these presents I make known to you that Pere Ferràndiz, a native of the town of Alzira now calling himself an inhabitant of Castillo de Garcimuñoz, has been examined by the honorable masters Pere Figuerola and Vicent Serra, masters in arts and in medicine of this city, examiners appointed by us and by the honorable *jurats* of the aforesaid city; and that the said Pere Ferràndiz has been found competent to practice the art of physic, as has been certified to us by a letter from the said examiners presented to us by the said Pere Ferràndiz, whose tenor is as follows: [here follows the text of the letter already given above]. Wherefore we—having first received his oath upon the holy Gospels while he physically touched them with his right hand, in the manner prescribed by the *furs*, that he will act well and loyally in the said art of physic—have given him license to practice the said art of physic in the said city and kingdom of Valencia without fear of any penalty. In testimony of which facts we have commanded that the present certificate be drawn up for him, with the seal of our office attached.

Given at Valencia, 9 December 1396 AD.

Bernat Taverner and Ramon del Mas, scribes of the said court, present as witnesses to these things.

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